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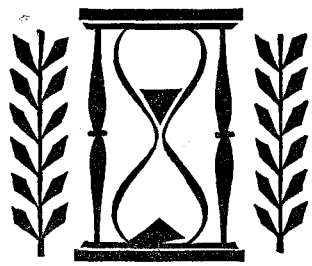
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The
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Vol. LIV, No. 3 *April, 1949*

The Impeachment of John Pickering

LYNN W. TURNER

> . . . the whole of the proceedings connected with the first example of impeachment carried through under the provisions of the federal Constitution will be always interesting whilst the present government endures . . .[1]

THE system of checks and balances in the federal government provided by the Constitution of 1787 has filled the pages of American history with the clamor of political feuds between the great branches of the government. As a fruitful source of disagreement, it has not diminished with the passage of time. Every page of our newspapers today carries a record of dispute between executive and legislature, between Senate and House, between the judiciary and the other departments. The judicial branch, aloof from the everyday concerns of government, has been less continuously involved in this dramatic conflict than the others, but on those historic occasions when it is drawn into the fray it provides more than its share of excitement.

[1] Charles Francis Adams, ed., *John Quincy Adams' Memoirs* (Philadelphia, 1874–77) I, 303–304.

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The Jeffersonian attack upon the federal judiciary in the early years of the nineteenth century was the first in a long series of epic battles between vigorous administrations and the Supreme Court. It has been depicted in all of its rich dramatic colors by a host of eminent historians. The mutual hostility of the Virginia cousins, Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall, the repeal of the Federalist Judiciary Act of 1801 by a Republican Congress, the subsequent impeachments of two federal judges, and the Supreme Court's momentous decisions under Marshall's guiding genius have been the principal elements in the story. Admirers of the judicial influence in American history such as Henry Adams and Albert J. Beveridge have damned Jefferson with many pages of circumstantial evidence for laying impious hands upon the sacred structure. More recently, such defenders of Jefferson as Claude Bowers have tried to prove, first, that Jefferson never intended to destroy the judiciary, and second, that he was perfectly justified in wanting to see it destroyed. Both schools have concentrated their attention upon the impeachment and trial of Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase, which undoubtedly was the climax of the entire drama. But in so doing, they have given only perfunctory attention to a necessary and significant preliminary to that notable event—the impeachment of John Pickering.

This prosecution of the judge of the federal district court at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was important in our constitutional history for a number of reasons. It was the first impeachment to run its full course under the federal Constitution, and the first of a judicial officer. It was, furthermore, the first and one of the few successful impeachments if the conviction and removal from office of the accused be deemed the criterion of success. In this respect it created a precedent which would have altered profoundly our constitutional history had it been followed with any degree of consistency by future Senates. The fact that its apparent interpretations of the Constitution were so soon reversed by the failure to convict Chase has made the Pickering case a minor development in the story rather than a historic landmark. Nevertheless, it remains a remarkable revelation of what can be achieved under the Constitution by a well-disciplined political majority and deserves careful scrutiny in these days when democracy is undergoing such intensive self-examination.

The Pickering impeachment, furthermore, was not the simple curtain-raiser to the main event that historians have generally proclaimed it but a vastly complicated problem in its own right—a problem which has not yet been satisfactorily solved. Stated in its simplest terms the prob-

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lem is: what is an impeachable offense?[2] If it be granted that not every offense held objectionable by Congress is impeachable, the Pickering case presents a further problem: how can a federal judge be removed from the bench for disabilities which do not warrant impeachment but which render him unfit to perform his duties? John Pickering's predicament presented the problem in a classic form but the Congress of that day failed to find the classic solution. Nor has the Constitution, since then, yielded a satisfactory answer.

If, as the Federalists firmly believed, Jefferson wished to destroy the judiciary by removing all Federalist judges, his choice of Judge Pickering as the first victim was an excellent piece of political strategy. The unfortunate old man had been an insane drunkard for some time and was clearly unable to perform his duties as a federal judge. His removal could be defended on the unassailable ground of concern for the purity of the judiciary. Once having succeeded in the experiment of convicting a district judge, the Republicans could proceed to hunt bigger game with more assurance of victory. Unfortunately, the Constitution guaranteed that judges should "hold their Offices during good Behaviour," and provided no other means for removing them than "Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors."[3] Therefore, in order to get rid of Pickering, who was certainly neither treasonable, corrupt nor criminal, the strict constructionist Republicans had either brazenly to violate the Constitution or to give the term "misdemeanors" a connotation far more inclusive than its ancient common law meaning. In either case, they enabled their loose construction opponents to pose as defenders of the Constitution in its pristine purity. The Pickering case thus became a political rather than a legal issue. Instead of standing in American history as the correct precedent for all future cases of judicial impeachment, it became a tragic blunder which reflected discredit upon everyone connected with it.[4]

The impeachment would have seemed less brutal if its innocent victim had not been one of New Hampshire's most distinguished citizens, the author of her constitution, a revolutionary patriot, a man who throughout

[2] For an elaborate citation of opinions on this question see Asher C. Hinds, *Precedents of the House of Representatives* (Washington, 1907), III, 322 ff.

[3] Article III, Section 1; and Art. II, Sec. 4.

[4] "So confused, contradictory and irregular were these proceedings," declared Henry Adams, "that Pickering's trial was never considered a sound precedent. That an insane man could be legally guilty of crime on *ex parte* evidence, without a hearing, without even an attorney to act in his behalf, seemed such a perversion of justice that the precedent fell dead on the spot." Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (New York, 1890–91), II, 156.

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his long public career had been universally admired. Historians, reading merely the partisan testimony on Pickering's conduct which was sent to Jefferson, have been inclined to treat his character with ignorant contempt or unseemly levity.[5] But Pickering's contemporaries were nearly unanimous in testifying to his intellectual greatness, sobriety and moral integrity.[6] For five years after his appointment to the federal bench, he apparently performed his few duties competently. But, at the turn of the century, the sixty-three-year-old jurist, who had for some time been increasingly hypochondriac and subject to such eccentricities as an unreasoning fear of water travel, showed evidence of definite mental derangement.[7] It would have saved the Pickering family much humiliation if the judge had resigned, but resignation was a responsible, rational act of which an insane man would be incapable. The family did nothing because of the judge's poverty. He had been notoriously generous and improvident, and lost most of his property in the terrible Portsmouth fire of 1802—all this before the days of civil service pensions. The Portsmouth Federalists remained quiet because of the judge's politics. His resignation would have created a vacancy for a Republican President to fill—and the district attorney, Republican heir-apparent, was peculiarly obnoxious to New Hampshire Federalists.[8]

By Federalist reasoning, Pickering's misfortunes were due directly to the repeal of the Griswold Judiciary Act, and his persecution simply a part of a Republican plot. The Act of 1801 had provided for such cases as Pickering's by authorizing the circuit judges to appoint one of their own number to exercise the functions of any district judge who became incapacitated.[9] In April, 1801, a formal notice of Pickering's derangement had been given to the newly established circuit court, and Judge Jeremiah Smith had quietly taken over his duties.[10] But the abolition of the circuit courts had forced

[5] John T. Morse, for example, in the first edition of his *Thomas Jefferson* (Boston, 1883), p. 259, called Pickering "a worthless fellow morally and mentally." Upon being called to account by his fellow members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Morse added an appendix to his book and grudgingly admitted that he had done "an unintentional injustice to the memory of a worthy man." (1897 edition, p. 345.) More recent writers, such as Claude G. Bowers (*Jefferson in Power* [Boston, 1936], pp. 270–71), Fletcher Pratt (*The Heroic Years* [New York, 1934], pp. 29–31), and Samuel Eliot Morison (*The Growth of the American Republic* [New York, 1942, 3d ed.], I, 397) have failed to profit by Morse's mistake.

[6] See, for example, William Plumer's biographical sketch in *New Hampshire State Papers,* XXII, 839–43; Nathaniel Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, 1825), pp. 332–34; communication by Dr. Andrew Peabody, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings,* XX (Boston, 1883), 333–38.

[7] *New Hampshire State Papers,* XXII, 842–43.

[8] James Sheafe to William Plumer, Dec. 30, 1802, in Plumer manuscripts, New Hampshire State Library, Concord, New Hampshire.

[9] Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston, 1916–19), III, 165, note.

[10] Record of the Circuit Court and affidavit of William Plumer in the *Annals of Congress,* 8 Congress, 1 session, pp. 336–37.

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Pickering to resume his position, and the Republicans needed to wait only four months until his conduct gave them ample grounds for action.

In October, 1802, George Wentworth, surveyor of customs at Portsmouth, seized a ship named *Eliza* and goods which he claimed were unladen from her contrary to law. The validity of Wentworth's seizure was never tested by a competent court of law, and from the available evidence, seems to have been at least open to question.[11] The vessel was owned by Eliphalet Ladd, a prominent Federalist merchant, who applied to Judge Pickering for a release, and obtained it, apparently without any display of bonds or papers. Joseph Whipple, the Republican collector of customs, thereupon libeled the ship and goods, and a trial was scheduled for November 11. Politics entered the affair even more openly when Ladd engaged as his attorney Edward St. Loe Livermore, member of a prominent Federalist family noted for ability and relentless party spirit. The trial was destined to be, in fact, not the case of *United States* v. *Eliza,* but the case of Republican surveyor, collector, marshal, clerk, and district attorney v. Federalist claimant, attorney, and judge.

On the opening day of the trial, Pickering came to the courtroom thoroughly intoxicated. He staggered to the bench and ordered the court to open; then, feeling lonely, commanded the Republican deputy-marshal to sit beside him. That startled officer demurred, whereupon Pickering cursed him roundly and frightened him into hasty compliance.[12] At this moment, a young lawyer named John Wentworth, who had been educated in England, entered the bar and Pickering, with a drunken notion that the Inns of Court might throw some direct light on the case, demanded his assistance on the bench. Wentworth refused; the judge started down to cane him, but, seeing a former British naval officer among the spectators, decided that he would be an acceptable substitute for the position at his left hand. Thus fortified against Jacobins, Pickering roared, "Now damn them, we will fight them," and ordered the parties to proceed.

The unctuous district attorney, John Samuel Sherburne, reminded Pickering that the libels had not been read; the judge replied that he had heard enough about the damned libels and would decide the case in four minutes.

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 346–50, for testimony of the government witnesses and pp. 337–38 for a deposition from Edward St. Loe Livermore which contradicts it.

[12] *Documents Relative to John Pickering,* printed by order of the House of Representatives (Washington, 1803), pp. 12–14. These documents are the message of President Jefferson to the House, February 3, 1804, and the depositions against Pickering, gathered from Portsmouth witnesses by order of the Secretary of the Treasury. The deponents were Thomas Chadbourne, Jonathan Steele, John S. Sherburne, John Wentworth, Richard Cutts Shannon, and others—all Republicans and present or would-be officeholders under the administration. The following narrative is collated from these hostile accounts. Quotations have been changed from third to first person, and altered slightly in punctuation.

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Livermore, seeing that no trial could be held under these conditions, obtained Sherburne's consent to a motion for postponement. Judge Pickering instantly brightened. "My dear, I will give you to all eternity," he said to the Federalist lawyer, and ordered the trial postponed until the next day, remarking that he would then be sober.[13]

Unfortunately, he was not. When the court reconvened, Pickering was even more inebriated. After hearing Livermore's case and a few minutes of an argument between the attorneys as to the competence of Sherburne's witnesses, Pickering suddenly decreed restoration of the property to the claimant.

"We will not sit here to eternity to decide on such damn'd paltry matters," he declared.

Sherburne remonstrated and begged that his witnesses be heard.

"Very well," said Pickering amiably. "We will hear everything—swear every damn scoundrel that can be produced—but if we sit here four thousand years the ship will still be restored."

A few minutes later, however, he shut off the witnesses and again ordered the case dismissed. Sherburne protested that this decision would injure the revenue.

"Damn the revenue," shouted Pickering. "I get but a thousand dollars of it." Sherburne appealed. "Yes, appeal," said Pickering, and let old wig try it, but by God he shan't alter the decree, for I will be alongside of him."

At this point, Livermore objected that the value of the goods seized was not sufficient to admit of an appeal and the judge upheld his objection. Sherburne hoped he would be allowed to file a bill of exceptions. "File what you please, and be damned," roared Pickering, and ordered the court to stand adjourned.

The trial had of course attracted a mob of sensation-seekers, and the courtroom had been a bedlam of confusion and laughter at the judge's maudlin behavior. Only a few of his old friends, who remembered the excellence of his former character, left the court with "painful sensations." Least amused, however, were the Republican officeholders. They had not appeared to good advantage and their resentment was expressed in an immediate complaint to the Secretary of the Treasury.

A month after this disgraceful scene had occurred in Portsmouth, Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire, newly arrived at Washington, called upon Albert Gallatin to pay his respects.[14] The Secretary informed him that

[13] Deposition of Livermore, *Annals of Congress,* 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 338–39.

[14] Plumer, at this time a decided Federalist, had been elected to fill the unexpired term of James Sheafe, resigned. He remained in Washington for only one term, but his journals, diaries, and letters comprise an invaluably full source for the history of that period.

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complaints had been received against Pickering and hinted that severe measures would be taken unless the judge resigned. Plumer sent this news immediately to the Portsmouth Federalist leaders and advised them strongly against permitting a resignation. "You well know that his successor will be a man whom we cannot approve," he added, referring to the Republican district attorney, John Samuel Sherburne.[15] Whether they were influenced by Plumer's advice or by mere inertia, the friends of Pickering failed to save him from prosecution by arranging for his resignation. Twenty-five years later, Plumer insisted that this should have been done.[16] In 1802, however, he and the other New Hampshire Federalists were guilty of seeking to keep an insane man in office for the sake of "good policy."

Gallatin did not wait for Pickering's friends to act. By the fifteenth of January, Sherburne had collected depositions according to his request and forwarded them to Washington. On February 3 they were transmitted by the President to the House of Representatives, "to whom," as Jefferson delicately suggested, "the constitution has confided a power of instituting proceedings of redress, if they shall be of opinion that the case calls for them."[17] Plumer nosed into the evidence which the administration had gathered and found what he expected to find—*ex parte* testimony from the district attorney, the clerk of the court, the collector, and the deputy-marshal, to the effect that Pickering's misbehavior at the trial of the *Eliza* was due to habitual drunkenness.[18] On the basis of these biased statements, a packed committee reported in favor of an impeachment, and the House, deliberately ignoring evidence of Pickering's insanity offered by one of its own members, obediently voted it, 45–8.[19] There had not even been time to draw up definite articles of accusation, and the House could only send John Randolph and Joseph Nicholson, on the last day of the session, to the Senate chamber with a verbal impeachment, and a verbal demand for the appearance of John Pickering. Through the influence of Uriah Tracy, congressional veteran from Connecticut and Federalist bellwether, the Senate had sufficient courage to wait

[15] Plumer to James Sheafe, Dec. 13, 1802, in letterbook labeled "Letters I," Plumer MSS., Library of Congress. Not only were Sherburne and Plumer of opposite political faiths, but they were personal enemies. It should be added, in fairness to Plumer, that Sherburne seemed to inspire widespread distrust and hostility. In this particular case, he was acting as the principal accuser of the man in whose office he had studied law and by whom he had frequently been befriended.

[16] Plumer's "Autobiography," manuscript in the Library of Congress, p. 130. This portion of the autobiography was written in 1827 when Plumer had chosen to forget his advice against Pickering's resignation in 1802.

[17] *Documents Relative to John Pickering*, p. 3.

[18] Plumer to Sheafe, Feb. 12, 1803, in Plumer MSS., N. H. State Library.

[19] *Annals of Congress*, 7 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 460, 544, 642.

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until something more nearly approximating a formal charge might be made.[20]

Thomas Jefferson and his followers in Congress missed, at this point, an opportunity to remedy a serious defect in the Constitution. Judges afflicted by insanity or other equally serious disabilities could be removed from office in at least seven of the states by the address of both houses of the legislature to the governor. This device, borrowed from English practice, had indeed been suggested in the federal constitutional convention, but decisively rejected as making the judiciary dangerously dependent upon the whim of the legislature.[21] It has been occasionally abused by political majorities in the states where it obtains, but it would have provided an ideal method for the prompt and easy removal of John Pickering. "Had the constitution of the United States," wrote William Plumer a quarter of a century later, "given authority to congress to have removed a judge by *address,* as that of New Hampshire does, I believe every senator would have voted for Pickering's removal. Tho it was wrong for him to remain in office, yet it was a violation of the principles of our government, to convict and remove him on an impeachment on account of his insanity."[22] Plumer's later opinion attributed more disinterested patriotism to the Federalist senators than they may have possessed, but it is certain that they could neither have prevented nor objected validly to the removal of Pickering by address.

Jefferson was fully conscious of his party's dilemma. He expressed his belief that the Constitution should be amended to provide for the removal of judges by address,[23] and Pickering's case gave him the strongest grounds for urging such an amendment. Unfortunately, neither the President nor his opponents were in a mood to subordinate partisan spirit to statesmanship in 1803. Men on the Federalist side like Plumer, familiar with every aspect of the case and fully aware of Pickering's pitiful condition, were still unwilling to arrange a quiet resignation for the sake of a dignified judiciary. On the other hand, Jefferson, as in the case of the Louisiana Purchase, condoned an almost certain violation of the Constitution rather than risk the uncertainty of an amendment. Plumer himself asked the President if he considered

[20] *Extracts from the Journal of the United States Senate in All Cases of Impeachment* (Washington, 1912), p. 17.

[21] John Dickinson introduced a motion on August 27 to provide for removal of judges by address. Gouverneur Morris and James Wilson argued that such dependence by the judiciary upon the good will of the other branches was contradictory to tenure during good behavior. Dickinson's motion failed, receiving the vote of only one state. Henry P. Gilpin, ed., *Papers of James Madison* (Washington, 1840), III, 1435–37.

[22] Plumer, "Autobiography," p. 130.

[23] Everett Somerville Brown, ed., *William Plumer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803–1807* (New York, 1923), p. 102. This "Memorandum" is an extensive journal of debates and personal history kept by Senator Plumer during his stay in Washington.

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Pickering's insanity a good cause for impeachment and removal. Jefferson replied, "If the facts of his denying an appeal & of his intoxication, as stated in the impeachment are proven, that will be sufficient cause of removal without further enquiry."[24]

Lacking the will to amend the Constitution, the Jeffersonians might have accomplished the same end by appealing to the Senate for such an interpretation of the term "misdemeanor" as would cover all cases of misbehavior where criminal intent was not involved.[25] The President hinted at such an interpretation in his statement to Plumer. It could be argued, as it was in later impeachment trials, that the wise creators of the Constitution would not deliberately have subjected their descendants to the monstrous misgovernment of courts presided over by irremovable lunatics.[26] Faced with such reasoning, the Federalists could have opposed Pickering's removal upon nothing but the most obviously partisan basis. Unfortunately, the Republicans failed to seize this opportunity. On the contrary, they made the most strenuous efforts throughout the proceedings to deny even the admission of evidence as to Pickering's insanity and attempted only to show him guilty of crime. By confusing insanity with criminal misbehavior they also wiped out the line between good administration and politics and made any word or deed which a political majority might think objectionable the excuse for impeachment and removal from office. Senator Giles of Virginia was later to make this position official when he insisted that impeachment was nothing more than a declaration by Congress that an official held dangerous opinions and must therefore give way to a man who could fill the office better.[27]

Against this loose doctrine, the Federalists held to the opposite extreme—that acts justifying impeachment also had to be indictable.[28] "In an impeachment," wrote Plumer, "it is requisite to allege & prove crimes and misdemeanors in the accused; otherwise a judicial officer will hold his office not

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[25] In the trial of Andrew Johnson, Benjamin Butler proposed a definition which would have effected this object. "We define an impeachable crime or misdemeanor," he said, "to be one in its nature or consequence subversive of some fundamental or essential principle of government or highly prejudicial to the public interest; and this may consist of a violation of the Constitution, of law, of an official oath, or of duty, by an act committed or omitted; or, without violating a positive law, by the abuse of discretionary power from improper motives or for any improper purpose." George H. Haynes, *The Senate of the United States* (Cambridge, 1938), II, 858.

[26] See manager Perkins' argument in the trial of Judge Charles Swayne, 1904–1905, reported in Hinds, *Precedents*, III, 328.

[27] *Adams' Memoirs*, I, 322–23.

[28] Albert J. Beveridge treats this doctrinal question fully, but naturally from a pro-Federalist point of view, in his *Life of John Marshall*, III, chap. 4, *passim*. For a modern statement in harmony with the Jeffersonian doctrine, see Westel W. Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States* (New York, 1910), p. 1124.

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by the tenure of *good behavior,* but the *pleasure of the legislature*—a tenure fatal to the independence of an important department in the government."[29] This has been the first line of defense in nearly every impeachment trial subsequent to Pickering's, and it rests upon the further argument that the word "misdemeanor" as employed in the Constitution, is a "term of art" borrowed in unchanged significance from English parliamentary law wherein it had always signified gross misbehavior.[30] Whatever the merits of this particular argument may be, poor Pickering, *non compos mentis,* stood beyond its scope. For his acts, as Robert Goodloe Harper later remarked, he was not amenable to any earthly tribunal.[31]

After the Eighth Congress had disposed of more pressing matters, it returned to the unfinished business of Pickering's removal. The House of Representatives made out its articles of impeachment and elected their authors, Nicholson and Randolph, together with nine other gentlemen, to be the managers of the prosecution. The Senate, meanwhile, was busily examining precedents, establishing rules of procedure, and worrying about the repercussions of the case. A forthright Republican senator from Tennessee betrayed at once the purpose and the weakness of his party's program when the senators settled the form of oath they were to take as judges. For the usual oath to do justice according to law, he proposed to substitute "justice to the United States & John Pickering." If the Senate were to find a verdict of guilty under the original form, it would have to be proved that Pickering had committed an offense against law, and, said Senator William Cocke, *"I know of no law that makes derangement criminal."*[32] He was willing to help the managers avoid this difficulty by warping the impeachment process out of its judicial framework. This scrupulousness was regarded as quixotic by his fellow senators, who overwhelmingly defeated his motion. In adopting the form of oath originally proposed, however, they undoubtedly constituted themselves a court, subject to judicial rule and custom. They then proceeded to do violence to that position throughout the trial.

The United States Senate, composed chiefly of lawyers and sitting as a court of impeachment, was eager to conduct itself with legal propriety, but it developed that there were almost as many variant conceptions of law as there were senators. Three of the senators had been members of the House which voted Pickering's impeachment. John Quincy Adams proposed to ex-

[29] Plumer, "Autobiography," p. 130.

[30] See the very learned argument prepared for the use of defense counsel in the Swayne trial, Hinds, III, 322–25.

[31] *Annals of Congress,* 8 Cong., 1 sess., p. 342.

[32] *Plumer's Memorandum,* p. 97.

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clude them as judges, on the common-law principle that the accuser cannot try his own cause.[33] Blunt Senator Jackson of Georgia immediately gave previous notice of his final vote by protesting that such a rule might "on some future occasion exclude so many of the senators, as that two-thirds of those who may be present and sit in Judgment cannot be induced to *convict* the accused."[34] The Senate postponed Adams' resolution and allowed the three men concerned to take the oath—the first of a series of irregularities which were to mar the proceedings.

Vice President Aaron Burr, mindful of Westminster pageantry and Warren Hastings, conducted the trial with elaborate ceremony. When the Senate had finally organized itself into a court, the eleven managers from the House of Representatives stalked to the bar and announced their readiness to exhibit the articles of impeachment in behalf of "the grand inquest of the nation." The Vice-President directed the sergeant at arms to conduct the gentlemen to the seats arranged for them on his right. After an impressive pause, the managers arose together, and Mr. Nicholson intoned the articles of impeachment. He then delivered the papers to Mr. Burr and asked that process issue against the accused. The Vice-President informed him that the Senate would take proper order thereon, and notify the House. Everyone bowed, and the managers withdrew.[35] The Senate then consumed nine days in further disagreement over trifles before dispatching its sergeant at arms to Portsmouth with a summons which was delivered at Pickering's home on January 25. The feeble, aged lunatic was ordered to appear before the court on March 2.[36] That gave him five weeks in the dead of winter in which to prepare a defense, gather witnesses, engage attorneys, and make the twelve-day journey to Washington—a psychopath who was afraid of ferries!

The four articles of impeachment all but proclaimed in writing that Pickering was to be sacrificed to political expediency.[37] The possibility that he was insane was nowhere mentioned. The authors made no appeal to the Senate to give the impeachment clause of the Constitution such liberal construction as to permit the removal of an unfit judge from the bench.[38] On the contrary, their whole effort, until forced into another position by the defense,

[33] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 283.
[34] *Plumer's Memorandum,* p. 98.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 99.
[36] *Extracts in Cases of Impeachment,* pp. 23–25, 27.
[37] *Ibid.,* pp. 20–22.
[38] Henry Adams was, for once, too generous when he stated in his *History of the United States,* II, 156, that "This ground was fairly taken by the impeachers, though not formally expressed." The very opposite was true. In order to have an impeachable case, the managers strained every nerve to prove the commission of criminal acts *on the bench,* without regard to possible causation.

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was to exclude the idea of insanity, and to throw a cast of willful misdemeanor over poor Pickering's behavior. The first article charged that the judge, "with intent to evade" the law, ordered the *Eliza* and two cables returned to "a certain Eliphalet Ladd, who claimed the same" without a prior appraisal and certificates from the customs officers as required by law. The second article stated that Pickering, "with intent to defeat the just claims of the United States," refused to hear Sherburne's witnesses and unjustly ordered the restoration of the ship and cables. Article three pictured the judge as "wickedly meaning and intending to injure the revenues of the United States, and thereby to impair their public credit" by refusing Sherburne's appeal to the circuit court. The fourth article described Pickering's intoxication at the trial and stated that "being a man of loose morals and intemperate habits" he lacked "essential qualities in the character of a judge."[39] Such words as "intent," "wickedly meaning," and "loose morals" preclude insanity and predicate a rational appreciation of cause and effect. It was necessary for the impeachers to employ such language, of course, if they expected to prove the perpetration of high crimes and misdemeanors, but in applying them to a helpless lunatic they were depriving the words of all meaning.

Unfortunately, the evident reluctance of some northern Republicans to condemn an insane man led Plumer to believe that the impeachment might not succeed. Fearing that the Federalists at home were not sufficiently exerting themselves, he wrote to Jeremiah Mason, leader of the Portsmouth bar, that the "ruling party" calculated upon the impeachment frightening Pickering's friends into effecting his resignation. Since Pickering's removal would lead directly to the condemnation of Peters, Chase, and the remaining federal judges, Plumer felt that it should be contested to the last ditch.[40] Whether his advice ever reached the immediate friends of Pickering is not revealed by the correspondence. At any rate, the local Federalist leaders showed no disposition to make Pickering's case their own. His defense was left entirely in the hands of his relatives, poorly equipped to match the small army of witnesses for the prosecution whose expenses were paid by the federal government.[41]

At noon on Friday, March 2, 1804, the high court of impeachment opened

[39] In this article the managers made their only effort to extend the boundaries of impeachable offenses around the field of general moral character, although, even here, it was Pickering's misbehavior on the bench which furnished them their evidence. See John M. Thurston, defense attorney's argument on this point in the Swayne trial, Hinds, III, 326.

[40] Plumer to Jeremiah Mason, Jan. 14, 1804, in "Letters I."

[41] Jeremiah Smith to Plumer, Feb. 11, 19, 1804, in letter book labeled "Letters IV," Plumer MSS., Library of Congress.

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for the trial of Judge Pickering, with as much solemnity as if each of the thirty-four judges were a lord high chancellor. Adams immediately spoiled the dignity of the occasion, however, by calling up his resolutions of January 4, and angry words ensued. Two of the affected senators modestly excused themselves from voting, but the other, Samuel Smith of Maryland, who stood closer to the administration, "declared That a false sense of delicacy should never prevent him from doing his duty," and voted against the resolution. It lost, ayes 8, nays 20.[42] Another heated altercation occurred as to whether the Senate should retire to discuss doubtful motions, or whether it should remain in meticulous immovability while the spectators were cleared out. The fact that the House of Lords, in Hastings' trial, had retired fifty-three times seemed decisive and it was so ordained for the United States Senate. At length the court settled all such vexing problems and informed the House of Representatives that it was ready to proceed with the trial.

In marched the eleven managers accompanied by nearly all the remaining members of the House, some of whom had difficulty finding comfortable seats. The crier called three times for John Pickering, who came not. Aaron Burr then dramatically announced that he had a letter from Robert Goodloe Harper, which he directed the secretary to read. The appearance of Harper in the trial, whether so designed or not, added immeasurably to its political character. Hardly another Federalist leader was so thoroughly hated by the Republicans since Harper had deserted their ranks to become the majority floor leader during Adams' administration. Now a brilliant, pompous, insolent attorney in Baltimore, he appeared for the defense of Pickering in order to confound the House politicians with his legal skill. Since he was already engaged for the defense of Chase, it seems probable that he undertook the Pickering case as a preliminary test of strength. His letter stated that he appeared, not as counsel for the defendant, whose insanity made him incapable of employing counsel, but as agent for Pickering's son. A petition from the son was read. It stated that at the time of committing the supposed high crimes and misdemeanors, Judge Pickering was insane and consequently irresponsible; that in spite of his condition, it could be proved that the judge had not, as charged in the impeachment, given an erroneous judgment or denied a fair appeal; and that the fourth article relative to Pickering's moral character was unjust. Then, in pathetic language, the son pled his father's feebleness of body and mind, his poverty, the inclement

[42] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 297–98; *Plumer's Memorandum,* p. 148. Senators Overton and Lonergan, who stood in relation to the Louderback impeachment (1933) as Smith did to Pickering's, evidently suffered from a "false sense of delicacy." They asked to be excused from participating in the trial.

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season and shortness of time as reasons for his nonappearance, and asked the court for a postponement of the trial until such time as the judge might be able to travel, or a proper demonstration of his condition be prepared. The letter was cleverly written to touch the impeachment at all its weak points, and closed with a noble appeal.

> *Audi alteram partem* is a maxim held in reverence wherever liberty yet remains. The Senate of America will be the last tribunal on earth that will cease to respect it; they will never condemn unheard; they will never refuse time for a full and impartial trial.[43]

Harper, invited within the bar by the president, added that Pickering's "narrow circumstances" had made it impossible for him to send witnesses to Washington; the object of the petition was to gain either a compulsory process, or time in which to take depositions. Before proceeding to argue for a postponement, Harper clearly reiterated his position as the agent of Jacob Pickering, not the attorney for John Pickering, and Burr allowed him to proceed in that capacity. The managers had apparently not been prepared for this tactic. It was some time before they grasped the significance of Mr. Harper's status, but, when he insisted upon it so clearly, Nicholson sprang to his feet and objected. He refused to hear Harper in this anomalous capacity. Caesar Rodney, another manager, supported Nicholson with the legal argument that until the respondent appeared in court, either in person or by attorney, there was no trial; the court must order a default and then determine what the proper procedure might be.[44] Burr referred the question to the court, and the senators retired to their committee-room for a decision, leaving the indignant managers to cool their heels in the Senate chamber.[45]

The senators debated the question of hearing Mr. Harper for more than an hour without even approaching a decision. The Republican leaders contended that Pickering was defaulted and Harper should not be heard; the Federalists declared that the suggestion of insanity was a bar to further proceeding, that the court must first try the question of insanity, for if the judge was insane, he could not even have had notice of the trial and there was no case. The debate split the Republican phalanx, for the moderates were unwilling to condemn an insane man without even hearing evidence

[43] *Annals of Congress,* 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 328–30.

[44] It is curious that Rodney's argument would have had the effect of postponing the trial until Pickering appeared which was exactly what Harper was trying to achieve. Notice that the managers did not insist on a default when the hearings were resumed.

[45] *Plumer's Memorandum,* pp. 151–55; *Annals of Congress,* 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 330–32.

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of his insanity.[46] Finally, Tracy remembered that the managers were still waiting in the next room, and he moved to notify them that they might as well retire until the question was settled. After the Senate finally adjourned, Plumer wrote to Edward Livermore. "Complaints have often been made against our Common Pleas, but what think you of a court, able to judge the president himself, who sits five hours on the question of whether Harper can be heard as attorney for Pickering's son and not yet decided?"[47]

As a matter of fact, it required not five hours but three days for the Senate to settle this question. A three-cornered debate raged between the Federalists, who had already determined to vote for an acquittal, those Republicans who were equally determined to vote for a conviction, and the moderate Jeffersonians whose consciences troubled them. The efforts of each group to place its predetermined action upon a legal footing gave rise to the most fantastic interpretations of law. The purpose of the Federalists was to admit the evidence of insanity, which, if proved, they said, would prevent any further proceedings (and thus keep a madman on the bench). For precisely the same reason—that it might prevent a conviction—the Republicans made "the most persevering and determined opposition" to hearing such evidence.[48] Honest General Jackson from Georgia made no pretenses. "Insanity is here a bar to all proceedings on an Impeachment—," he said. ". . . How shall we get rid of the Judge?"[49] A still more important case was coming up soon, he said, and "by-and-by we should have Judge Chase's friends come and pretend he was mad."[50] Then this champion of state rights declared that Pickering's friends should have forged his name to a resignation from the federal bench and have appointed him to the superior court of New Hampshire. Connecticut Federalist Hillhouse answered, as icily as if he himself were an impartial jurist, "We are sitting here not to devise how we can get rid of a Judge, but as Judges under oath to try a public officer accused of having committed high crimes and misdemeanors."[51]

Wright, a Maryland Republican, wanted to assign Harper as counsel for Pickering and give evidence of insanity under a plea of not guilty;[52] Breckinridge, Kentucky Republican, to proceed with the trial and hear evidence

[46] *Plumer's Memorandum,* p. 156. Although the Republicans wanted to construe impeachment as a process of removing any kind of incompetent judge from the bench, the party whips were here inconsistently attempting to exclude evidence of the worst kind of incompetence.

[47] Plumer to Edward Livermore, Mar. 4, 1804, in "Letters IV."

[48] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 299.

[49] *Plumer's Memorandum,* p. 158. Plumer gives a far more circumstantial account of this debate than any other source.

[50] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 299.

[51] *Plumer's Memorandum,* p. 159.

[52] *Ibid.,* p. 160.

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of insanity in mitigation;[53] Worthington of Ohio, to hear evidence without counsel.[54] Pickering was charged with high crimes and misdemeanors, but Wright thought this was a civil case[55] and Logan of Pennsylvania considered it only a court of inquiry. "If the Judge is *insane,*" he said, " . . . he is incapable of discharging the duties of a Judge . . . & a complaint being made to us, it is our duty to remove him."[56] Hillhouse cornered him: "admit Mr. Harper to offer his evidence to prove the insanity, & your case is made."[57] Venable of Virginia, feeling hard pressed, tried to distinguish between innocent insanity and self-inflicted insanity resulting from intoxication.[58] Wright returned to the fray with the incredible assertion that they could accept a plea of insanity only if the judge himself or his counsel appeared to make it. Plumer pounced upon this folly. "The amount then is, that if a man suggested to be *insane* will do a *sane* act, such as disproves his insanity, appoint an Attorney, we will then hear him upon the question of insanity."[59] Bradley, a Vermont Republican, spoke for the moderates. He quarreled with Breckinridge and Wright, and stood stoutly against an arbitrary persecution. "I trust we are not *yet* arrived to that state of things in which it is necessary to suppress evidence or refuse to hear counsel," he said, "—And I trust we are not afraid of being mislead by fact or reasoning."[60] The moderates finally carried their point, and, late Monday afternoon, the Senate voted, 18–12, to hear Mr. Harper's evidence.

The defection of the moderate Republicans was greeted with bitter anger by their party friends in the House. As soon on Tuesday morning as the court had resumed its public hearing and Burr announced the decision to admit Harper, Nicholson rose in wrath. The managers were ready to support the articles of impeachment, he said, but did not consider themselves under any obligation to discuss preliminary questions with unauthorized third parties.[61] Thereupon, the eleven angry men retired and sought the approbation of the House for their action. Here a new demolition of dignity awaited them. Instead of passing a motion to approve their haughty proceedings, the House recalled that the Senate had full constitutional authority to determine its own mode of conducting trials. Nicholson himself was forced to renounce a vote of vindication.[62] Nevertheless, Adams felt that the Senate had been intimidated by the managers' arrogant withdrawal. He afterward observed a group of administration senators in the lobby listening to John

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 163.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 168.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Annals of Congress,* 8 Cong., 1 sess., p. 333.
[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 1097–99.

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Randolph's sneering references to the pretense of insanity. From that moment, every incident in the trial impressed him with "the subserviency of the Senate, even when acting as a *Judicial Court,* to a few *leading members* of the House of Representatives."[63]

After the managers filed out, Harper proceeded with his statement. First, he read depositions from three physicians (one of whom, Samuel Tenney, was a member of the House), giving their professional opinions that Pickering was insane and that his intemperance proceeded from his insanity. He then read an extract from the circuit court record, signed incidentally by Jonathan Steele as clerk of the court and attested by Plumer, to show that Pickering's insanity had been considered a disability by the court in 1801. Then followed a long affidavit by Edward St. Loe Livermore in regard to the trial of the *Eliza,* which strongly suggested that the depositions of Sherburne and Steele upon which the impeachment was founded, were untruthful. Harper closed his appearance with a short but forceful protest against regarding insanity as criminal and asked that the court grant a postponement of the trial.[64] He then withdrew.

The suggestion of insanity had been accepted; the evidence to prove insanity had been heard; and now the Senate decided to do nothing about it. The moderate Republicans had salved their consciences. They swung back into line, and without debate carried a vote to proceed immediately with the trial, 19–8.[65] "This had evidently been settled by the members of the ruling party out of Court," wrote Senator Adams.[66] On March 8, in consequence, the managers returned and began the proof of their indictment. They did little more than call up witnesses, who, in Plumer's opinion "were well chosen & prepared for the purpose to which they were called."[67] They were seven in number, all Republicans, and five of them had been appointed to federal offices by the current administration. One of the number, Joseph Whipple, the collector, had been removed from office by President Adams and reappointed by President Jefferson. Two others, Sherburne and Steele, were aspirants for Pickering's place. Since no representative of the accused was present to cross-examine them, the witnesses reveled in a freedom which would have been denied them in a regular court. They were allowed to hear and confirm each other's testimony.[68] They ascribed Pickering's misbehavior to intoxication, and carefully avoided any mention of insanity until they were

[63] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 310.
[64] *Annals of Congress,* 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 334–43.
[65] *Ibid.,* p. 345.
[66] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 300.
[67] Plumer to Jeremiah Smith, Mar. 11, 1804, in "Letters IV."
[68] *Annals of Congress,* 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 350–59.

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questioned on that subject by the court. Edward Cutts Shannon, who admitted that he did not know Pickering intimately, was permitted to testify that "he did not himself believe him deranged. He believed it was so said that he might be kept in office."[69] Questions by one of the senators, however, forced Jonathan Steele to admit that he had seen Pickering sober, and at the same time demented.[70] The other witnesses then declared that his insanity had been produced by habitual use of ardent spirits. In attempting to establish this point, the witnesses were permitted to relate hearsay stories, and to contradict each other, without reproof.

After the prosecution rested, Tracy suggested that the two senators from New Hampshire be asked to give evidence in the case.[71] Simeon Olcott had been Pickering's associate in the state superior court, and was able to refute expressly the random assertions that Pickering had been a drunkard before he was appointed to the federal bench. Plumer, whose acquaintance with the judge extended back over fifteen years, established Pickering's excellent character prior to the oncoming of his insanity, which he believed to have been "about four years since." Plumer stated his explicit belief that Pickering's insanity was the cause of his intemperance, and added the sensible observation that the two maladies had increased by reciprocal effect.[72] Some of the senators with troubled consciences seized upon Plumer's statement as evidence that Pickering had drunk himself insane, in spite of the specific denial.[73] But after these damaging statements, the prosecution felt compelled to recall the witnesses whose testimony had been impugned. Sherburne excused himself on the plea of illness, but the others reappeared, to give the lie direct to the honorable senators from New Hampshire. Steele, without challenge, changed his former testimony and conjectured "that the report of insanity was raised as a cover to [Pickering's] intoxication." Nicholson then closed the case by declaring that the testimony was so conclusive as to render further argument unnecessary, and that the managers would retire, "entertaining no doubt of full justice being done by the decision of the Senate."[74]

Tracy immediately submitted a resolution to postpone proceedings until the next session in order to issue a *capias* against Pickering and compel his

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 358.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 356.
[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 359–60. Tracy's common-sense suggestion resulted in another bizarre feature of the trial, the two senators from New Hampshire becoming both witnesses and judges.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 360–61.
[73] This was Israel Smith's (Vermont Republican) excuse according to Plumer's recollection. Plumer's manuscript volumes of biographical sketches in the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N. H., IV, 529.
[74] *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 1 sess., p. 362.

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appearance. The Federalists inveighed against the gross irregularities in the trial, but Republican senators were impatient and quickly defeated Tracy's motion, 20–10. Nevertheless, some of them weakened as the final vote approached. Brown of Kentucky was "said to be inclined to vote against convicting of the Accused; but . . . unwilling to offend his party, obtained leave of absence for the residue of the session."[75] Now that the excitement of the chase was finished, Burr also found his presence at home imperative, and left abruptly. With Franklin of North Carolina in the chair, the Senate returned to its unwelcome task on Saturday, and again the minority assumed the offensive. White of Delaware introduced a long resolution which stated the reasons why a postponement should be voted, and the Republicans were forced to debate it in spite of strenuous efforts to proceed to the main question.[76] White said that there had been no summons, no appearance, no plea, no defense, and that their proceedings scarcely deserved the name of a mock trial. Nicholas of Virginia sprang to his feet with shouts of "Order! Order!" and declared that he would not submit to such reflections. Senator White was a Revolutionary veteran, an expert duelist, and a man of sensitive honor.[77] Calmly he repeated his statement and added that if gentlemen were disposed to feel insulted by the truth he would give them satisfaction at any time or any place. Nicholas made no answer. Republican senators were driven again to declare that technical niceties did not concern them; their object was to get rid of Pickering. A day was consumed in acrimonious debate before the resolution was finally defeated, 9–19. A motion to pronounce judgment on the following Monday was then passed by a vote of 20–9. These votes demonstrated that the issue was already settled.

Plumer occupied a part of the Sabbath day which followed in writing a bitter description of the trial to Jeremiah Smith.

> I am unable to give you a full & correct account of the extraordinary proceedings of this Court. If I could detail the strange, wild & absurd doctrines advanced by different members; the contradictory opinions, given on different days, by the same members; & exhibit to you the real speeches, spirit & action of the Court, you would not credit the relation. I will not make the attempt; for I am unwilling to destroy my credit with my friend. . . . Tomorrow, no doubt, an insane man will be convicted of high crimes & misdeamers [*sic*]; & probably the next day John Samuel Sherburne will be announced as his successor—for it is not yet necessary to enquire whether the Candidate is *honest, or attached to the constitution.* There is nothing here to induce me to tarry much longer, either as it respects my-

[75] *Plumer's Memorandum,* p. 173.
[76] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 302–303.
[77] Plumer's "Biographical Sketches," IV, 493.

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self or my country. I fondly hope I shall live to see the righteous separated from the wicked by a geographical line. True policy demands it.[78]

John Quincy Adams spent his Sabbath confined to his lodgings with a cold, writing an elaborate protest against the trial proceedings, which Timothy Pickering had asked him to prepare. The Federalists considered a plan to refuse voting upon the impeachment charges and to publish Adams' protest as a vindication of their stand. They wisely decided, however, to abandon the plan.[79]

On Monday, it appeared that the Federalists had one more card to play. Senator White proposed a form of vote which would require each senator to decide whether Pickering was guilty or not guilty "of high crimes and misdemeanours." White explained that he had no doubt of the judge's misconduct nor of the fact that it arose from insanity and was therefore not criminal or willful wrongdoing. Therefore, while he believed Pickering guilty of the facts charged against him, he could not vote him guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, which were the sole constitutional grounds on which he could be removed. Senator Anderson of Tennessee proposed a different form, which would merely declare Pickering guilty or not guilty "as charged." White's motion was rejected, 10–18, after which Anderson's was adopted, 18–9. "Whether this motion was made to evade the fair question . . . & so to vote, as meerly to find [Pickering] guilty of the acts charged upon him, & upon this conviction to remove him, without deciding the question of law, let the impartial decide," was Plumer's press comment upon this extraordinary decision.[80] John Quincy Adams was even more pungent. "This form, by blending all the law and facts together under the shelter of general terms, put at ease a few of the weak brethren who scrupled on the law, and a few who doubted of the facts."[81]

The Senate majority had now blocked the last loophole through which Pickering might have escaped. Nothing remained but the performance of the ceremonial sacrifice, for which the managers and visitors were readmitted to the Senate chamber. Even then, with the trial virtually closed, Wright attempted to make sure of the verdict by calling for the District Court's record to be read again, and became angry when Adams protested.[82] The final roll-call found only twenty-six men, out of a total membership of

[78] Plumer to Jeremiah Smith, Mar. 11, 1804, in "Letters IV."
[79] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 303–307.
[80] Plumer to John Park, Mar. 13, 1804, in "Letters IV." These letters to Park were reports on events in Washington for publication in Park's newspaper, the Boston *Repertory.*
[81] *Adams' Memoirs,* I, 308.
[82] *Ibid.*

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thirty-four, willing to place their names on the record in relation to this precedent-forming impeachment. Dayton of New Jersey and White refused to vote upon questions so unfairly stated. Three Republican judges, Bradley of Vermont, Armstrong of New York, and Stone of North Carolina, also fled the final question. Those who remained voted strictly according to party, the nineteen Republican senators finding Pickering guilty on every charge, the seven Federalist senators pronouncing him not guilty. A resolution to remove Pickering from office passed immediately, 20–6, with all but the six New England Federalists in its favor.[83] Thus, after a so-called trial of charges based upon *ex parte* evidence in which the absent defendant was morally unaccountable for his alleged crimes, and mentally incapable either of pleading or of defending himself, and in which only one side was heard, a partisan body of judges gave to poor old crazy John Pickering of New Hampshire the distinction of becoming the first victim of the first judicial purge in our national history.

On the day following Pickering's conviction, Plumer wrote a long, circumstantial, and skillfully partisan account of the trial for publication in the Boston *Repertory*. His letter ended with significant foreboding:

> How far these proceedings will form a precedent to establish the doctrine, That when requested by a majority of the House, two thirds of the Senate can remove a Judge from office without a formal conviction of high crimes and misdemeanors, time alone can develop. I really wish those in New England who are boasting of the independence of our Judiciary would reflect on what a slender tenure Judges hold their offices whose political sentiments are at variance with the dominant party. The House of Representatives have this day impeached Judge Chase . . .[84]

The manner in which Pickering's impeachment had been conducted did indeed go far toward making the process not a trial at law but a convenient political weapon. Plumer himself saw the attempt repeated very quickly in the impeachment of Judge Chase. Had he lived long enough to witness the trial of Andrew Johnson, his views would certainly have been enforced. Plumer disliked impeachments, and American experiments with the process have generally been so unfortunate as to vindicate his judgment.

Events which occurred during the remaining fifteen days of the session fitted neatly into Plumer's preconceived pattern of Republican villainy. Only ten days after Pickering's removal, Jefferson asked the Senate to confirm his nomination of John Samuel Sherburne to the vacant judgeship and of Jonathan Steele to the district attorney's office vacated by Sherburne. "Thus

[83] *Extracts in Cases of Impeachment*, p. 34.
[84] Plumer to John Park, Mar. 13, 1804, "Letters IV."

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is the man who advised & promoted as far as he was able the impeachment of Judge Pickering, rewarded by being appointed his successor," wrote Plumer.[85] The third star witness, Shannon, was elevated to Steele's vacated clerkship by Sherburne. Unfortunately for Republican harmony, Steele thought that he should have been made judge, and refused the attorney's office. He returned his commission to Madison, saying that he had been made "a contributing instrument in creating vacancies, and a due regard to my reputation forbids me to profit by that achievement."[86] This scarcely veiled criticism both of Sherburne and of the administration was followed eventually by Steele's withdrawal from the Republican party. Sherburne's hypocrisy excited a considerable degree of hostility among the people of New Hampshire, where Pickering had been generally popular. When Sherburne himself lost his mind after some twenty years on the bench, many devout people of Portsmouth considered it to be the judgment of God visited upon him for his part in Pickering's removal.[87] The circuit court in 1826 took the same action in regard to his disability that had been taken for Pickering in 1801, but he continued to draw his salary until his death in 1830.[88]

As is well known, the impeachment of Samuel Chase, voted on the day following Pickering's removal from office, resulted in a far more famous trial but a very different outcome. The moderate Republicans who had hesitated at condemning Pickering broke out of the traces completely when confronted with the administration's poor case against the Supreme Court justice. Chase's acquittal caused the abandonment of what was generally understood to have been the next step in Republican strategy—the impeachment of Chief Justice Marshall. But it also reversed the precedent set by the Pickering case, fortunately for a nation whose governmental philosophy sets a premium upon the independence of the judiciary. Unfortunately, however, it did nothing to solve the problem which Pickering's condemnation had left untouched and which remains a constitutional defect to this day—the problem of reconciling a proper independence of the judiciary with a proper behavior.

Since the immolation of Pickering, there have been eight impeachments of federal judges, three of which have resulted in conviction and dismissal.[89] The admitted misdemeanors of some of the acquitted judges were far more serious than any committed by the unfortunate Pickering. This lengthy ex-

[85] *Plumer's Memorandum*, pp. 178–79.
[86] Plumer's "Biographical Sketches," V, 327.
[87] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, XX, 334.
[88] Plumer's "Biographical Sketches," V, 490.
[89] Haynes, II, 878–79.

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perience with the impeachment process has done little to clarify the legal puzzles which surround it. Eminent authorities are still diametrically opposed to each other on the principal points of controversy: whether impeachment can extend beyond indictable offenses, whether it applies only to misconduct on the bench, and whether "misdemeanor" is a term of fixed meaning or one intended to give the Senate latitude sufficient to deal with any given case.[90] Senatorial inconsistency and forgetfulness of its own precedents have rendered the process arbitrary and uncertain. The most recent impeachment, that of district judge Halsted L. Ritter in 1936, might be construed as a confirmation of the Pickering precedent, since Judge Ritter was convicted of a nonindictable offense and removed from office. The decision however was of even more dubious validity than that against Pickering since Ritter was acquitted of each of the six substantive accusations brought against him and then convicted, by exactly the necessary two thirds majority, on a seventh "omnibus charge" which merely reiterated the others and contended that by his behavior the judge had brought his court into scandal and disrepute. As Senator Hiram Johnson said on this occasion, Congress had, in effect, capriciously added to the crimes and misdemeanors of the constitutional definition, "misbehavior" as an impeachable offense.[91]

After the failure to convict Judge Swayne in 1905 of indubitably offensive conduct, Senator Bacon of Georgia attempted the solution which Jefferson had advocated but failed to initiate. His proposed sixteenth amendment to the Constitution would have given a two thirds majority of each house of Congress the power to address the executive for the removal of any judge guilty of "immorality, imbecility, maladministration, misfeasance or malfeasance in office."[92] It was, of course, rejected and the Sixteenth Amendment which actually was added to the Constitution grants to citizens the privilege of paying income taxes rather than that of removing incompetent federal judges. It is not at all impossible, within our present system of government, that another Pickering may again some day be sacrificed for political advantage, to the discredit of the Constitution.

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[90] An excellent presentation of the latitudinarian view on these matters is an article by David Y. Thomas, "The Law of Impeachment in the United States," in *American Political Science Review,* II (May, 1908), 378–95. Arguing with equal cogency for the opposite point of view is Harris Taylor, "The American Law of Impeachment," in *North American Review,* vol. 180 (April, 1905), 505–12.

[91] *Congressional Record,* Vol. 80, Part 6, 74 Cong., 2 sess., p. 6571.

[92] Taylor in *North American Review,* vol. 180, 512. John Randolph also introduced such an amendment after his humiliation in the Chase trial and acquittal.

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John Evans' Strange Journey

Part II. Following the Trail

David Williams

IN Part I[1] of this story of John Thomas Evans and his hunt for the Welsh Indians we brought him to his first objective. Baltimore and Philadelphia and points to the west were but havens and way stations between his landing in America in October, 1792, and his arrival in St. Louis in the spring of 1793. Now he was at the take off for his real task.

Although he was entirely unaware of it, John Evans reached St. Louis at a critical point in its history, and in the history of the exploration of western North America. Several nations had taken part in the opening up of this vast region, and they were now anxiously staking their claims as the last stage was being reached. Early in their history in the Americas the Spaniards had spread northwards, in search of gold both from mines and looted cities, and had penetrated to the Mississippi and as far as the Grand Canyon. The French, as intrepid as any in their explorations, had made their way up the St. Lawrence, trading with the Indians for their furs, and in the missionary zeal of their priests showing a courage and endurance unsurpassed in the history of human endeavor. From the Great Lakes they had crossed to the headwaters of the Mississippi, not knowing whether this river flowed into the Pacific or the Gulf of Mexico until, in 1682, La Salle had traveled down its full course and planted the French flag at its mouth.

Meanwhile the British colonies on the Atlantic seaboard were spreading inland, and there ensued a bitter struggle between them and the French, since the French flanking movement along the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi seemed destined to place a definite limit on their expansion. Moreover, to the north, the British had acquired claims to land along the shores of Hudson Bay, and in 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated to tap the fur trade of western Canada. Thus the struggle between the British and the French was intensified, and this became merged into the warfare between the two countries in Europe in which France suffered defeat, so that in 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Hudson Bay and the surrounding territories passed finally into British hands.

The presence of British traders in the north was a serious threat to the

[1] See *American Historical Review*, January, 1949, pp. 277–95.

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French on the St. Lawrence and in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes, and in order to intercept the trade which flowed to the British posts on Hudson Bay the French pushed further inland. In the winter of 1738, from Fort La Reine on the Assiniboine River, Vérendrye made his way southwestwards, and after a six-weeks' journey over the snow, reached the Missouri River at the villages of the Mandan Indians. Thereby he brought definitely within the light of history a tribe which has been the subject of more discussion than any other in North America. Even in the very early days of French exploration there had been tales of white Indians in the prairies of the west, beyond the Great Lakes. Vérendrye found, however, that the whiteness of the Mandans was only relative, but in their customs they differed strangely from the other tribes. Instead of being nomadic and living in wigwams, they had some eight villages, all strongly stockaded and placed on headlands overlooking the river, so that they could be easily defended. Within the villages they lived in dome-shaped houses built on a regular plan. They depended for their livelihood less on hunting than on the cultivation of the land. They had wide fields of Indian corn, and grew beans, melons, pumpkins, and other fruits and vegetables. Their strangeness naturally led to much speculation as to their origin, and their peculiarly lascivious ceremonies brought them visitors through curiosity from among the illiterate and half-caste fur trappers and traders.

The Seven Years' War eliminated French sovereignty from North America, though a hundred thousand French-speaking people still continued to live in Canada. In the years after 1763 their traders, together with Englishmen and Scots, all operating out of Montreal, encroached upon the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company. In course of time these Canadian traders formed a loose association called the North West Company, and the rivalry between them and the Hudson's Bay Company remained intense and bitter until their final amalgamation in 1821.

In the last stage of the Seven Years' War, in order to prevent the territory from falling into English hands, France had ceded to Spain all land west of the Mississippi, and by the Treaty of Paris that river became the boundary between British and Spanish possessions. Apparently without knowledge of this transference, some of the inhabitants of Louisiana proceeded to build a town near the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri, which they named St. Louis in honor (strangely enough) of Louis XV. It now became the capital of the province called Upper Louisiana or Spanish Illinois, under the immediate command of a lieutenant governor who was responsible to the governor at New Orleans. It became, also, the center of trade with the

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Indians along both rivers. When John Evans reached St. Louis in 1793, it was a town of about a thousand white people, mainly French in speech, with some three hundred Negro slaves.

Meanwhile British rule on the seaboard had been overthrown in the American War of Independence. Citizens of the newly established state had then pushed vigorously onwards over the Allegheny mountains and down the great valley of the Ohio into the Kentucky grasslands. They had reached the Mississippi and established posts at Cahokia and Kaskaskia on the opposite side of the river to St. Louis. The Spanish authorities regarded this penetration with the greatest anxiety. They were equally perturbed at the infiltration of the traders of both the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies into the upper reaches of the Mississippi and the Missouri, and the diversion of Indian trade which should have flowed southwards along these rivers. Finally they were greatly alarmed by the advance of Russian fur traders from Alaska, down the Pacific coast into present-day California. Important as was the commerce of the vast regions of the interior, this was secondary to the need to defend the long frontier line of the Spanish Empire. In this defense a primary consideration was to link up the northern part of the vast region called Louisiana with the Spanish settlements on the Californian coast. Above all, therefore, was it necessary to find a route through the Rocky Mountains, and it was generally thought that this should be up the Missouri River, whose headwaters were believed to be not far from the Pacific.

In this critical situation Don François Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet de Noyelles, Seigneur d'Haine Saint Pierre, a member of an illustrious Burgundian family who had entered the service of Spain, was appointed governor of Louisiana in 1791, and arrived at New Orleans in January, 1792.[2] At the same time an able man, Don Zenon Trudeau became lieutenant governor at St. Louis. The numerous reports which Carondelet submitted to Godoy, the Prince of Peace, all show his concern with defense.[3] This became more urgent than ever in October, 1792, when news was received of British activities in the upper reaches of the Missouri. A French hunter, Jacques d'Eglise, had obtained permission in 1790 to go up the Missouri and had actually visited the Mandan villages, some eighteen hundred miles above St. Louis.[4] He is, in fact, the only white person known to have reached the villages by this route before John Evans. On his return in October, 1792, he reported that

[2] Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909), I, 193.
[3] *Ibid., passim.*
[4] Abraham P. Nasatir, "Jacques d'Eglise on the Upper Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XIV (1927), 47–71.

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British traders were active a distance of only some fifteen days away from the Mandans. Should they succeed in establishing themselves there, they would effectively cut any possible communication along this northern route between Louisiana and California. Carondelet decided to take action. He offered a reward of two thousand dollars, which he subsequently raised to three thousand, to anyone who should penetrate to the coast and bring back accurate information of the strength of the Russian establishments there.[5] He also strongly supported the foundation in 1793 at St. Louis of the Missouri Company or Compañia Exploradora (Compagnie de Commerce pour la Decouverte des Nations du Haut du Missouri) with exclusive trading rights, so that they could neutralize the activities of the British, as well as build a series of forts to protect the route from St. Louis to the Pacific.[6]

The leading spirits in the Missouri Company were Don Zenon Trudeau and a St. Louis merchant who bore the name of Jacques (or Santiago) Clamorgan.[7] The name would be strange enough in any language, and it so closely resembles Glamorgan that it may be pseudonymous. The French traveler Michaux, writing in his diary of John Evans' departure, does, indeed, give the company promoter's name as Charles Morgan.[8] He describes him as a Creole from the West Indies. It is, in fact, generally assumed that he was a native of one of the West Indian islands, but of Welsh descent.[9] Be this as it may, the company decided in May, 1794, to send an expedition up the Missouri under the command of Jean Baptiste Truteau, a St. Louis schoolmaster. It was to be away for three years, and was to build a fort among the Mandans as well as trade with the Indians and obtain information about the routes to the west. The expedition cost the company some fifty thousand dollars, but it met with difficulties, and, in April, 1795, a second expedition sent to support it proved still more disastrous. The company thereupon decided in July, 1795, to send yet a third expedition. It was to comprise thirty men and four vessels, carrying merchandise to trade with the Indians, and it was, if possible, to proceed as far as the Pacific coast. The company estimated the expense involved as over a hundred thousand dol-

[5] Houck, I, 10; A. P. Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XVI (1929), 370.

[6] A. P. Nasatir, "The Formation of the Missouri Company," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXV (1930), 10–22.

[7] A. P. Nasatir, "Jacques Clamorgan: Colonial Promoter of the Northern Border of New Spain," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XVII (1942), 101–12.

[8] Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846* (Cleveland, 1904), III, 79–80; Houck, I, 258, gives the name of his private company as "Morgan, Loisel & Co."

[9] Nasatir, in *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*; Houck, I, 148; Frederick J. Teggart, "Notes Supplementary to Any Edition of Lewis and Clark," American Historical Association, *Annual Report for 1908* (Washington, 1909), I, 185–95.

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lars.[10] They entrusted its command to James Mackay, a native of Scotland, who had traded in Canada in the service of the North West Company and had penetrated as far as the Canadian Rockies but had now decided to seek his fortune further south. The expedition left St. Louis in August, 1795, and with him, as his lieutenant, Mackay took John Evans.

John Evans had therefore reached St. Louis in the spring of 1793 at a most critical juncture in the history of the province. His strange quest must have caused surprise to the townsfolk, and the Spanish authorities would no doubt regard with suspicion anyone who might be a British agent. His impulsive nature would tend to lead him into difficulties, for one of his well-wishers feared that he "had not a sufficient knowledge of Mankind to balance his enterprising enthusiasm."[11] What precisely happened it is not possible to say. All that is known definitely is that Don Zenon Trudeau, the commandant at St. Louis, complained that Evans "would not comply with some Spanish etiquette previous to his setting out on his journey,"[12] and that Evans was consigned to prison. In prison he remained for an indefinite period (possibly for two years) until he was released on representations being made to the commandant by a Welshman named Jones, said to be resident in St. Louis.[13]

Evans found a more influential intercessor with Don Zenon Trudeau in Turner,[14] the United States supreme justice for the Northwest Territory, whose duties took him as far west as Kaskaskia. The Spanish commandant paid him a courtesy visit on his circuit in the spring of 1795, and in conversation mentioned John Evans to him, stating that he had detained Evans until he could get further account of him and his design. Turner, who had previously heard of Evans, requested that he should be allowed to proceed, representing to Trudeau that even if his search for Welsh Indians should prove fruitless, his journey might still lead to valuable discoveries.[15] Turner was able to effect for Evans an introduction to Trudeau, and wrote to Evans giving him what advice he could on how to deal with the Indians. He asked Evans to bring back the skin of a strange animal which he described to

[10] For the expense involved in these three expeditions see Houck, II, 164–76.

[11] Morgan John Rhees to William Owen [-Pughe], Dec. 5, 1797, N.L.W., MS. 13222, folios 495–97, printed in *National Library of Wales Journal,* II (1942), 139–40.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Morgan ab Ioan Rhys (Morgan John Rhees) to Robert Roberts, Aug. 21, 1795 printed in *Y Geirgrawn,* 1796, pp. 12–13. (I have been unable to find anyone of this name in the many lists of residents in St. Louis in Houck, *op. cit.* Jones may have lived across the river in Cahokia or Kaskaskia.) The letter is printed in translation in George Burder, *The Welch Indians* (Coventry, 1797), pp. 34–35, but the name, Jones, is there omitted.

[14] Turner is spoken of in the *Journals* of Lewis and Clark as "the late Judge Turner." (Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Original Journals of Lewis and Clark,* I, 18.)

[15] Burder, *loc. cit.; Y Geirgrawn, loc. cit.*

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him.[16] Apparently Turner's recommendation bore great weight with Trudeau, for he supplied Evans with passports in Spanish, French, and English,[17] and promised Turner that he would forward to him any news he might receive of Evans' movements.[18]

Turner had mentioned to the commandant Evans' "desire to take a companion."[19] Truteau's expedition had, in fact, gone up the Missouri the previous year, and the second expedition was about to start when Turner wrote to Evans. That Evans was able to join the third expedition was due to the fortunate meeting of Morgan John Rhees (as he now spelled his name) with its leader, James Mackay.

Morgan John Rhees had booked his passage from London to Charleston in 1785,[20] but had been hindered from crossing the Atlantic, as he thought by Providence. He had thus been able "to stand on the ruin of the Bastille at Paris and feel the energy of those principles which shake Europe to the center."[21] On his return from France he had, as we have seen, published the *Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg,* through which he sought to instill these principles into his fellow countrymen, and to further the cause of the Christian missions, particularly among the American Indians. It was the intention of the promoters of the *Cylchgrawn,* he said, if it succeeded,

> to give the profit towards supporting missionaries to preach the Gospel to the Indians, and more especially to open the door to go to the old Welsh who sailed with Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd in the year 1170 to North America, and who now live near the Missouri River, far inland.[22]

The *Cylchgrawn,* however, ceased with the fifth number, and, in time, he sailed for America, reaching New York on October 12, 1794.[23]

He immediately set out on a prolonged tour which lasted just over twelve months, and during this period he kept a most interesting journal.[24] His purpose was, evidently, to find the best location for a Welsh settlement which he afterwards placed in western Pennsylvania.[25] His journey took

[16] G. Turner to John T. Evans, Mar. 10, 1795, Nasatir, document II [see Part I, p. 289, n. 57].

[17] Burder, *loc. cit.; Y Geirgrawn, loc. cit.*

[18] Morgan John Rhees to William Owen [-Pughe], June 14, 1796, N.L.W. MS. 13221 E, folio 307, printed in *N. L. W. Journal,* II (1942), 139.

[19] Nasatir, document II.

[20] His diary, under Feb. 4, 1795, printed in John T. Griffith, *Rev. Morgan John Rhys* (2d ed., Carmarthen, 1910), p. 162.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg,* I (February, 1793), inside end-paper, in Welsh.

[23] Diary under Oct. 12, 1795, Griffith, p. 225. For his life see J. J. Evans, *Morgan John Rhys a'i Amserau* (Cardiff, 1935.)

[24] It is printed in Griffith, pp. 118–229.

[25] *Y Geirgrawn, loc. cit.*

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him into the Northwest Territory, within three hundred miles of St. Louis.[26] In May he met Judge Turner, that is to say, within two months of the judge's letter to Evans, and the judge gave Rhees an account of Evans' adventures to that time.[27] But more important was the fact that in July Rhees met at Cincinnati[28] "the acting partner of the Missouri Co.,"[29] whom he names variously M'gee[30] and Mackee,[31] for this was none other than James Mackay. He was evidently most favorably impressed by Mackay. "I do assure you," he wrote, "it afforded me much pleasure to meet with a man of his disposition and information engaged in the Indian trade."[32] It was Mackay's intention to remain on the Missouri for three or four years to trade with the Indians, and Rhees "begg'd of him to give all the assistance he could to John Evans should he meet him."[33]

Rhees also discussed with Mackay the theories of the existence of Welsh Indians. Mackay was doubtful; he thought the Padoucas "out of the question," and could recognize none of the Welsh words which Rhees mentioned to him. Rhees, however, drew up for him a "Welsh Vocabulary," and Mackay promised to write to him from time to time.[34] Mackay, himself, in a hitherto unpublished manuscript note on the "Indian Tribes," gives his own account of this incident:

> About the time I had in view to ascend the Missouri a number of well informed persons of both Europe and America believed the probability of a tribe of Welch Descent's being somewhere near the head waters of the Missouri, and some exaggerated accounts given of the Paducas by some persons who probably never

[26] Morgan John Rhees to William Owen [-Pughe], Nov. 24, 1795, N.L.W., MS. 13222, folio 461 printed in *Cambrian Register,* I (1796), 379–80, and in *N. L. W. Journal,* II (1942), 137–38, states that in May he was within 300 miles of John Evans. Unfortunately his diary from March 30 to July 5 seems to be missing (it is not printed in Griffith, *op. cit.*). He, however, delivered *An Oration* at Greenville, headquarters of the western army, northwest of the Ohio, on July 4, and a discourse, *The Altar of Peace,* before Major General Wayne and others on the following day. (Both were published as pamphlets and are reprinted in Griffith, pp. 230–37.)

[27] Morgan John Rhees to William Owen [-Pughe], Nov. 24, 1795, as above.

[28] Morgan John Rhees's version of John Evans' account of his journey in the Philadelphia *Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser,* Dec. 26, 1797, and *Aurora General Advertiser* (Philadelphia), Dec. 27, 1797, both quoting from the New York *Daily Gazette.* Extracts from these newspapers were kindly supplied to the writer by the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, and the New York Public Library, reference department. The version referred to is also printed in *Monthly Magazine,* V (March, 1798), 161–62, which, however, omits this one fact, that Rhees met Mackay in Cincinnati. Rhees's diary (Griffith, p. 189) shows that he was in Cincinnati between July 11 and July 15, 1797. He makes no reference to Mackay in his diary.

[29] Morgan John Rhees to William Owen [-Pughe], Nov. 24, 1795, as above.

[30] Same to same, June 14, 1796, N.L.W., MS. 13221, folios 307–308, reprinted *N. L. W. Journal,* II (1942), 138–39.

[31] Same to same, Dec. 5, 1797, printed *ibid.,* II, 139–40; this letter is printed also in *Monthly Magazine,* V (1798), 161, together with Evans' account, as above, and there the name is given as Mackay.

[32] Same to same, Nov. 24, 1795, as above.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*

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saw them added considerable strength to that belief. The name Paduca was considered as synonymous with *Madoc,* a Welsh Prince who, about six or seven hundred years ago sailed from Wales towards the west with a number of vessels & people & never returned & who is said to have had in a prior voyage Discovered a beautiful country far to the west. From these and some other Circumstances (all of which is said to have been found in the ancient records of Wales) it was supposed that the Paducas were the remains of Prince Madoc's Colony.

Tho, during my former tour in the North West & upper part of the Missouri, I had heard nothing of a Welch Tribe, I believed the Possibility of their existance & considering the light such a discovery might throw on the History of America was determined to use all means in my Power to unvail the mystery. On my way from New York to Louisiana in 1794, I met a worthy Gentleman, Doct^{r} J^{n} Rees, who, after informing him of my intended expedition, furnished me with a small vocabulary of the Welch Language written by himself, and informed me respecting a Mr. John Evans from Wales who was gone to the Illinois with the intention of travelling westward to see the supposed Welch tribe. Having arrived in Louisiana & got ready for my voyage to the west I sent for & engaged for my assistant Mr. Evans, who spoke and wrote the Welch Language with facility.[35]

Thus began the association between Mackay and Evans which was to develop into mutual respect and friendship.

Mackay and Evans set out in mid-August, 1795.[36] There is no reason to doubt that the original plan was followed, and that their expedition comprised thirty men. They ascended the river in four pirogues, with merchandise worth 50,000 dollars. The goods in one vessel were intended for the terrible Sioux Indians, through whose territory they would have to pass—the Ishmaels of the great plains. The goods in the second were for the Arikaras and those of the third for the Mandans. The ambitious plan of the promoters is revealed by the fact that they reserved the goods of the fourth vessel for the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and of the overland route to the Far West. They were well armed, for 15,000 dollars had been allocated for armaments in addition to 3,000 dollars for other necessaries. The salaries of the thirty men were budgeted at 30,000 dollars, with an additional 3,000 dollars for those who were not able to return within a year.[37]

[35] MS. (unpublished) entitled "Indian Tribes" in E. G. Voorhis, Memorial Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. This MS. is marked "Evans Notes" in the hand of Captain Clark (of the Lewis and Clark expedition). The reference to the Welsh vocabulary clearly identifies the author as James Mackay. 1794 is evidently a slip for 1795.

[36] William Arundel to J. Th. Evans, from Cahokia, Aug. 18, 1795, speaks of Evans' "intended journey"; Nasatir, document III. (This letter implies that Evans had become a freemason.) Morgan ab Ioan Rhys (Morgan John Rhees) from Washington to Robert Roberts in New York, Aug. 21, 1795, says that John Evans had "at last" gone up the Missouri; *Y Geirgrawn,* as above. The unusually accurate, though anonymous, account in *Y Greal neu Eurgrawn* (Caernarvon, 1800), p. 15, which mentions James Mackay, states that he and Evans set out in August. The summary of Johns Evans' own account in *Monthly Magazine,* V (March, 1798), 161–62, and in the American newspapers also gives the same month. André Michaux's statement (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, loc. cit.*) that they left at the end of July is, therefore, probably incorrect.

[37] Houck, II, 164–76.

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In the sweltering heat they proceeded up the swift river, until their oarsmen, who had to row against the current from morning till night, were almost worn out. They encountered bad weather, with torrential rain, and one of their barges sprang a leak. Their progress was therefore delayed, and it was not until October 14, after an arduous journey of six weeks, that they reached the mouth of the Platte River, in present-day Nebraska. At the junction of the Platte and the Missouri there was an encampment of the Oto Indians. Mackay had to exercise all his firmness in preventing them from pillaging the boats, but he succeeded and decided to camp there for eleven days. He took advantage of this to send a report to Clamorgan at St. Louis.[38]

From the Otos, the expedition went on to the village of the Maha or Omaha nation, a more formidable tribe, the son of whose chief, Pajaro Negro (Black Bird), met them on November 3 and took them overland to the camp. Winter had now set in, with heavy falls of snow, and the cold soon became almost unendurable. In this village, which was situated in a wide prairie, a few miles from the Missouri, about halfway between the mouth of the Platte and James (or Dakota) rivers, Mackay, therefore, decided to spend the winter. He had now covered nearly half the distance to the Mandans, and he could not hope to proceed farther that year. Moreover he had to negotiate with Black Bird to secure his good will and a safe passage. So Mackay built here the first of the forts by means of which it was hoped to protect the Spanish frontier and named it Fort Charles. In it he decided to remain until the spring.

Black Bird, the chief of the Mahas, was one of the most redoubtable Indian rulers on the continent. This incredible savage had acquired his predominance not so much through his prowess in war as by the skillful use of poison. He had procured arsenic from white traders and had administered it at a feast to sixty of his warriors, announcing to them that the Great Spirit had informed him they would all die before morning. This "strong medicine" fully established his authority. He ruled as despotically as an eastern potentate. If he were asleep his attendants dared not even wake him, however urgent the occasion might be, lest his vengeance fall upon them.[39] He held sway, also, over the chiefs of other tribes, and Mackay adopted the policy of increasing his authority by ostentatious gifts, for if Mackay could win him over there would be little to fear from the others. So on November 15 Mac-

[38] Mackay to Clamorgan, Oct. 24, Nasatir, document IV. Mackay's report of the whole journey is given in a letter from Carondelet to Godoy, Prince of Peace, June 3, 1796, in Houck, II, 181–93.

[39] There is a vivid description of Black Bird in the "Journal" of Truteau, leader of the first expedition, *American Historical Review*, XIX (January, 1914), 299–333.

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kay harangued the Indians, rebuked them for their conduct in the past, and promised them supplies.[40] But the wily savages did not wish the expedition to go farther. They wanted all the goods for themselves, and particularly did not want their neighbors upstream to obtain firearms. They, therefore, tried to dissuade the white men from proceeding by expressing concern for their safety, representing the Poncas and other tribes as being scarcely human. Mackay had to cajole Black Bird by gifts of cloth, blankets, kettles, and tobacco as well as firearms and ammunition.

Meanwhile food was becoming dangerously short, both for the Indians and for the whites, and, on November 21, an Indian party went out to hunt. Mackay found himself under the necessity of sending some of his men with them,[41] and in command of them went John Evans. For twenty-five days he hunted buffaloes with the Indians,[42] enduring all the hardships of their life on the open prairie, now in mid-winter. He was, as will be seen, of a reflective turn of mind, and he must have pondered much on the changes in fortune which had brought him from a Methodist home in Caernarvonshire to share the life of these savages. Soon after he had returned to Fort Charles the Missouri had ice, and in a day or two it was completely frozen.[43]

The delay at the Mahas, unavoidable though it was, caused Mackay great anxiety. He had used up the greater part of his goods and would have to await reinforcements.[44] It was unlikely, therefore, that he would reach the Mandans until late in the summer of 1796. The need for action was, however, becoming increasingly urgent because of the activities of the British traders on the Missouri. An illiterate French Canadian named Jusseaume (who was to play a sinister part in John Evans' life) had, in fact, led a party from the junction of the La Souris and Assiniboine rivers across to the Missouri in October, 1794—a ten days' journey—and there had established a British fort among the Mandans, and hoisted the Union Jack. Jusseaume stayed there himself until April, 1795, and when he returned to the headquarters

[40] Mackay's report, in Houck, *loc. cit.*

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.* (Evans' own account).

[43] Mackay's report, *loc. cit.* Mackay states that on November 24 he sent a detachment by land to the Arikara Indians, but that they met a considerable band of Sioux and returned on January 6. Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XVI, 507–28, says that Evans was in charge of this detachment. There is, I think, some confusion here. Mackay does not say that Evans was in charge, and Evans does not mention this episode. His account is quite specific. He says that he spent twenty-five days on a hunting expedition, that he then stayed for two months at Fort Charles before departing in February, 1796. This would agree with his having accompanied the band which went hunting on November 21. It is clear from other sources that he left in February (Nasatir, document VI), and he himself makes it clear that he had to beat a retreat on that occasion. This makes his re-start in June intelligible. The Welsh evidence here supplements that derived from American sources in a very valuable way. It must be assumed that Evans was not on the November 24 expedition.

[44] Houck, p. 254.

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of the North West Company left some of his men behind to occupy the fort and trade with the Indians.[45] It was essential to dislodge them at the earliest possible moment. Therefore, as Mackay reported to Clamorgan,

> through my fear of arriving late next summer at the Mandans I am going to send out a detachment within a few days under charge of Mr. Evans, until he meets Truteau, who must have already constructed his fort among the above-mentioned Mandans, if he has experienced no opposition on the part of the English who have had the audacity to unfurl their banner there. Monsieur Evans is to leave there with picked men, who occasion us great expense, in order to visit the head water of the Misuris, the chain of the Rockies, and to follow the Pacific Sea, according to the enclosed instructions of which he carries a copy.[46]

These instructions, which bear the date January 28, 1796, form a very remarkable document.[47] They were issued under authority entrusted to Mackay by Clamorgan, Trudeau, and the Baron de Carondelet. Evans was to keep a journal in which he noted the latitude and longitude every day, as well as the direction of the wind and the condition of the weather, together with particulars concerning mountains, rivers, vegetation, and the various Indian tribes, including their language, religion, and mode of life. Each day he should mark down his route with precise accuracy. Mackay also instructed Evans how he should prepare his dried meat and how he should behave toward the Indians. He must avoid savages who were unaccompanied by women and children, for they would be on the warpath. On no account must he let the Indians become aware of his presence through firing a gun, or cutting wood with a knife, or building a fire with its tell-tale smoke. He must not camp too early in the evening and must leave before daybreak. When he came to an Indian village he should ground arms some distance away and never appear timid. Presents he should distribute sparingly, for the time of his return was uncertain. When he had reached the sources of the Missouri he would have gone beyond the Rockies. He must then inquire of the Indians of any rivers flowing toward the setting sun, and build canoes to navigate them, taking care of the rapids and waterfalls, for Mackay estimated that the rivers would descend to the coast in the relatively short distance of 290 leagues. He must mark the route from one river to another by notches on trees or engraved stones with the day, month, and year, the name of Charles IV, king of Spain, and that of the Missouri Company in large letters. Finally he should look out for Russian settlements

[45] Nasatir, "Jacques d'Eglise on the Upper Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XIV, 64; Charles M. Gates, ed., *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest* (Minneapolis, 1933), p. 113, giving the diary of John Macdonell. Jusseaume's name is spelled in a variety of ways.

[46] Mackay's report, *loc. cit.*

[47] Nasatir, document V.

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and note all particulars. He should return to Mackay at the Mandans. Throughout his journey he must impress upon the natives that "their great father, Spain, the protector of all the white and the red men," desired to make them happy and peaceful. Mackay stressed the fact that Evans' journey was of the utmost importance, not only to the king of Spain and to the Missouri Company but to all mankind, for it would open up communication through the continent. Should Mackay be dead before he returned, Evans should go immediately to Clamorgan, and if he, also, were dead to Zenon Trudeau, but he must disclose his evidence to no one else.

Evans set out early in February, 1796.[48] He proceeded by land,[49] for the river was still frozen, and he hoped to reach the Poncas by the spring. How many accompanied him is not known, but among them were two men, Scarlet and Tollibois, who were to go with him across the Rockies, while the others remained at the Mandans. In a letter dated February 19, which Mackay sent after Evans with still further instructions and which he signed "Your sincere friend," Mackay hoped that these two men would not disappoint him in the confidence he had in their conduct and perseverance. The small party proceeded for a distance which Evans estimated as three hundred miles when they met the terrible Sioux Indians on the warpath. They were thereupon forced to retreat hastily and succeeded in making good their escape, having to return all the way to Fort Charles.[50]

Before Evans' second departure, Mackay drew up a manifesto "To all British Subjects Trading to the interior part of N. America, and all other persons of whatever description who may frequent the said Country," dated May 27, 1796, from Fort Charles.[51] He recounted that the king of Spain had granted all the land on both sides of the Missouri, from the watershed separating it from Hudson Bay westwards to the Pacific coast, to the Missouri Company, and he warned "all foreigners whatever (especially all British subjects)" from intrusion on pain of the confiscation of their property and such punishment as Spanish law might inflict.

Armed with this injunction, Evans set forth again on June 8,[52] fully furnished with provisions and merchandise. He followed the same route as in February,[53] and we know that he kept a journal, for a digest of it is still

[48] *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.; Y Greal neu Eurgrawn, loc. cit.* Mackay to Evans, Feb. 19, 1796, Nasatir, document VI, says that he had found the time tedious since Evans had left.

[49] Nasatir, documents V and VI.

[50] *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.; Y Greal neu Eurgrawn, loc. cit.*

[51] Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B. 22/a/4, Brandon House Journal, under Oct. 25, 1796.

[52] Extracts from Evans' Journal, printed in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings,* LXIII (1915), 195–200, reprinted in Nasatir, *Missouri Hist. Rev.,* XXV. *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.* (also Evans' own account), states that he started again in June, but *Y Greal neu Eurgrawn, loc. cit.,* says he did so in May.

[53] *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.*

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extant.[54] He also "took a chart" of his journey, and marked down his route with meticulous accuracy, for a very remarkable map exists which was drawn either by himself or by someone using his sketches and the information which he had gathered from the Indians.[55] From the territory of the Poncas he proceeded onwards by river.[56] The journey was excessively difficult, for the Missouri here ran furiously, hemmed in by hills which Evans believed to be rich in mineral deposits.[57] These were the famous Bad Lands of present-day South Dakota. After a fatiguing journey of nine weeks, he reached the Arikara Indians on August 8, 1796. This was the utmost limit reached by Truteau's expedition, but Truteau had found the Arikara villages empty, the Indians having probably withdrawn because of the smallpox, and Evans did not in fact come across him although he was still up the Missouri.

The Arikaras were of a different race from the Mandans, though they resembled them in their sedentary way of life. Evans had great difficulty with them. They wanted all his goods and would not let him pass. For several weeks he was forced to remain with them, during which time he was visited by Cheyennes and other Rocky Mountain tribes. At last he persuaded the Arikaras to allow him to proceed to the British Fort amongst the Mandans, no great distance away, and there he arrived on September 23. He was received kindly by the Mandans and by the other tribes who came to see him. To their chiefs he gave flags and medals, "in the name of the Great Father the Spaniard, who inhabits this side of the Great Lake, and also in the name of the Chief who resides at the entrance of the Missouri." His presents gave the Indians great satisfaction, and Evans reports that they expressed sincere attachment to their Great Father, the Spaniard.

Evans' first work was to dislodge the Canadians, and this he did five days after his arrival, taking possession of their fort, which he now christened Fort Mackay.[58] He went so far as to "cause the British flag to be lowered,"[59]

[54] Nasatir, *loc. cit.*

[55] This is the map which Jefferson sent to Captain Meriwether Lewis. For conclusive proof that the map is Evans' see Annie Heloise Abel, "A New Lewis and Clark Map," *Geographical Review,* I (1916), 329–45. The map as it now exists in the Library of Congress is too neatly drawn to have been executed by Evans while traveling, but the information embodied in it is indubitably his. See also Annie H. Abel-Henderson, "Mackay's Table of Distances," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.,* X (1924), 428–46, and Raphael N. Hamilton, "The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley," *American Hist. Rev.,* XXIX (1934), 645–62. In Rhees's version of John Evans' account, *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.,* Philadelphia *Gazette, loc. cit.,* etc., Evans uses the words, "having explored and taken a chart of the Missouri for 1800 miles." This is valuable confirmation of Mrs. Abel-Henderson's arguments.

[56] *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.*

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Hudson's Bay Company Archives, *loc. cit.*

[59] Spanish memorial of some three years later in Houck, p. 207. Possibly this did not mean

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and to hoist that of Spain. This, he said, "seemed very much to please the Indians." Little was he to know that exactly a week later, in far away Europe, Spain declared war on Great Britain. Inadvertently he had laid himself open to a charge of treason.

For over six months, John Evans lived among the Mandans. He thus had ample leisure to study both the habits of these "white" Indians, and their language. It is strange that, exactly another eight months after he had left, the Mandans were visited again by the much more celebrated Welsh explorer, David Thompson, who has left a vivid description of his journey to them and of their manners and customs.[60] Acting as Thompson's guide on this occasion was Jusseaume, who had established the Canadian fort among them. It is, therefore, more than remarkable that David Thompson does not even mention his fellow countryman, for it is incredible that he should not have heard of him. The Mandans, we learn from Thompson, now lived in only five villages, for the smallpox had wrought havoc among them since the days of Vérendrye. These villages contained some 320 of their beehive-shaped houses in all, each house inhabited by up to ten people. Many a time Evans must have held solemn conclave with their chiefs, Big White and Black Cat, and most interesting must his reflections on them have been. He was forced to the conclusion that in manners and customs the Mandans differed but little from the other tribes. He reflected, nevertheless, that "nations who had but an imperfect knowledge of the whites (being yet in a state of nature) were of a softer and better character, whilst those who had frequent communications with the whites appeared to have contracted their vices without having taken any of their virtues.[61]

He succeeded in obtaining from the Indians surprisingly accurate knowledge of the upper Missouri. At the Mandans it was still a very wide river, so he deduced that its source was much further away than had been imagined. He learned of the great rivers which flowed into it from the south-west, and gathered that it ran northwards from its source for a considerable distance between the chains of the Rockies, before it flowed eastwards into the great plains as far as the Mandans.[62] It is evident that with his courage and perseverance, his accurate observation and cartographical skill, Evans had in him the makings of a really great explorer.

Evans was soon in difficulties with the British traders. As we have seen,

hauling down the Union Jack, for Jusseaume had been in the habit of hoisting it only on Sundays, a practice no doubt followed by those whom he left at the fort.

[60] J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812* (Toronto, 1916).

[61] Evans' Journal, Nasatir, *loc. cit.*

[62] *Ibid.*

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both companies were located some two weeks' journey away, the Hudson's Bay Company at Brandon House two miles above the junction of the Assiniboine and La Souris rivers, and the North West Company at Fort La Souris nearby, as well as at Fort de la Rivière Tremblante (Aspin House) higher up the Assiniboine. The two companies were, at this time, engaged in the most bitter rivalry, which was ruinous to themselves and demoralizing to the Indians, for the traders were prepared to go to extreme lengths to procure their furs and pelts.

It was the North West Company which had established a fort at the Mandans, and in dislodging them, Evans must have given the company's men a copy of Mackay's injunctions. On October 8, Evans noted that more British traders had arrived at the Mandans,[63] and these were undoubtedly the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. Evans did not have sufficient men to oppose their arrival, but he hindered their trade and forced them to leave, sending with them also a copy of Mackay's declaration. By this time the Nor'westers had returned to Fort de la Rivière Tremblante, and on the day on which Evans noted the coming of their rivals (October 8), Cuthbert Grant of the North West Company wrote to Evans accepting the position as indicated in Mackay's letter. He had, in any case, lost much money through Jusseaume's activities at the Mandans and was quite prepared to withdraw, but he asked Evans to be good enough to give the bearer of the letter all Jusseaume's property which was in his possession.[64]

James Sutherland, of the Hudson's Bay Company, replied to Evans from Brandon House on November 23, also accepting the prohibition, which, he said, affected his company very little. He asked, however, if they might continue trading in horses, Indian corn, and buffalo robes, for he thought these would be of no interest to Evans as they were unconnected with the fur trade.[65] But Evans replied that he had no power to authorize this, and he doubted if permission would be given, as these articles were the staple trade of the country. Sutherland would be properly informed when the agent-general (Mackay) arrived at the post.[66] Sutherland replied in friendly terms. He was evidently surprised to find a man of Evans' education exposed to the dangers and hardship of a winter among the Mandans, and sent him some flour, chocolate, and sugar though his own stocks were low.[67] "Such a sensi-

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Cuthbert Grant to Evans, Oct. 8, 1796, Nasatir, document VIII.

[65] James Sutherland to Evans, Nov. 23, 1796, Nasatir, document IX; also in H. B. C. Archives, *loc. cit.*, under Nov. 23, 1796.

[66] John T. Evans to James Sutherland, Dec. 20, 1796, H. B. C. Archives, *loc. cit.*, under Jan. 16, 1797.

[67] James Sutherland to J. Evans, Jan. 21, 1797, Nasatir, document XI.

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ble man in such a remote corner of the world is a rare thing," he wrote later, "and your letters will appear with pleasure before our Governor and Council." He hoped that he might some day meet Evans and exchange adventures, as providence had decreed that both of them should spend their years traversing the wild regions of America.[68]

To begin with, Evans' relations with the North West Company were, at least in appearance, equally amicable. He had even lent their men a compass to help them across the open country. In returning this, Big John McDonnell, possibly the best known of the company's servants at this time,[69] sent as gifts to Evans "two European Magazines and Guthrie, Geographical Grammar for your amusement, a powder horn and shot bag, one bottle Turlington's Balsam, one ditto Peppermint, half-dozen vomits, half-dozen purges." He was having to trouble Evans again about Jusseaume's goods, and therefore was sending some French Canadians with an interpreter to fetch them. He hoped that Evans would not prevent them from doing a little trading with the Indians.[70]

But these amicable relations did not last long. Before the end of the year the Hudson's Bay Company's servants were noting that the Nor'westers were at least contemplating the idea of "taking possession" of the upper Missouri,[71] presumably by force. Besides the interpreter and the other Nor'westers who had gone for Jusseaume's goods had lost their horses the second night out on the return journey, and so were forced to go again. Two of the Hudson's Bay Company's men accompanied them this time, out of curiosity to see the Mandan villages and to buy a slave girl.[72] It was these two men who brought Evans the flour, chocolate, and sugar. They reported that Evans' condition was wretched. He had been civil to the British traders but had refused to allow them to deal with the Indians, insisting upon trading all their goods himself and giving them furs in return. This had displeased the Indians, and it was thought that it would endanger Evans' position. It had still more displeased the Canadians, who would have obtained better terms by direct trade with the Indians. Evans, to show his authority, had hoisted his Spanish flag.[73]

With the returning traders, Evans sent letters, dated February 6, 1797, to

[68] Same to same, Feb. 26, 1797, Nasatir, document XII.

[69] See John McDonnell, "Some Account of the Red River," in L. R. Masson, ed., *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest* (Quebec, 1889). Despite his hostility to Evans, McDonnell placed reliance on Evans' "chart." *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[70] John McDonnell to Evans, Nov. 23, 1796, Nasatir, document X.

[71] H. B. C. Archives, B. 159/a/3, Indian Elbow Journal, under date Dec. 23, 1796.

[72] James Sutherland to John Evans, Jan. 21, 1797, Nasatir, document XI, as above.

[73] H. B. C. Archives, B. 22/a/4, Brandon House Journal, under date Feb. 25, 1797.

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both companies. These are not extant, but they evidently complained of their activities, particularly those of the Nor'westers. James Sutherland, of the Hudson's Bay Company, replied that Evans' complaints against his own rivals were "possibly not without reason," and advised him to be on his guard against those designing people.[74] Big John McDonnell replied in angry terms. Evans had evidently threatened to arrest his traders, and McDonnell warned him that "British subjects were not to be tried by Spanish laws, nor do I look upon you as an officer commissioned to apprehend other people's servants." He was evidently still mystified about Evans' intentions, but whatever was at the bottom of it, he suspected "most complicated villainy" on the part of the Spaniards. He was now sending Jusseaume himself to see Evans and answer the charges Evans had made against him.[75]

Jusseaume arrived on March 13, 1797. This illiterate French Canadian, who, despite his somewhat doubtful character, was to act as guide and interpreter for both David Thompson and for Lewis and Clark, had lived for many years in western Canada, and John Evans was probably no match for him. What precisely happened between them is not quite clear. The news as recorded in the Journals of the Hudson's Bay Company was that "Mr. Evans and the Canadians was almost at fisticuffs in atempting to prevent them from Trading with the natives, and not having goods himself set all the Indians out against him."[76] He had therefore had to depart with all his men down the river to Fort Charles, as the Indians were threatening to kill them. As the news had reached Brandon House on April 14, this implies that Evans left the Mandans not later than the first week in April.

Evans' own account is that he left the Mandans on May 9.[77] Jusseaume, he says, had tried to wean the Spaniards away from him by means of presents, and had tried to persuade some of them to enter his dwelling and kill him, but the Indian chiefs had forewarned him. Jusseaume had then planned an attack on a larger scale but with the aid of the chiefs this again was foiled. After that Jusseaume had himself entered Evans' house and tried to fire at him when his back was turned, but Evans' interpreter had prevented him. The Indians had dragged Jusseaume away and would have killed him had not Evans intervened. A few days later Jusseaume had left.[78]

It is clear that Evans' position as well as that of Mackay had become un-

[74] James Sutherland to John Evans, Feb. 26, 1797, Nasatir, document XII as above.
[75] John McDonnell to John Evans, Feb. 26, 1797, Nasatir, document XIII.
[76] H. B. C. Archives, B. 22/a/4, Brandon House Journal, under date Apr. 14.
[77] *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.*, states that he arrived at St. Louis on July 15, 1797, after a 68-days' journey. He would then have had to start on May 9. Y *Greal neu Eurgrawn, loc. cit.*, says that he returned in July after 68 days. It is possible that he may have left the Mandans in April, and Fort Charles in May, but this is unlikely. Y *Greal* assumes that the 68 days brought him from the Mandans to St. Louis.
[78] Evans' Journal, Nasatir, *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XXV.

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tenable. Evans had had to live in the most primitive conditions through a winter in a region, the present-day North Dakota, where the climate is as severe as in any other habitable part of the globe. This may well have undermined his health and contributed to his early death. As the Hudson's Bay Company servants had noted, he had run out of goods to trade with the Indians, while he had to prevent the Britishers from trading. It was unlikely that the Indians would endure this for long. It was because of the hostility of the Indians that Mackay himself had to retire, according to Judge Turner.[79] The Missouri Company itself was in a difficult position and was unable to help them. Clamorgan had evidently been unable to obtain the financial support which he required from the Spanish authorities.[80] He had, also, entered into relations with the powerful British house of Todd of Montreal and London, which had advanced him 80,000 dollars in goods adapted for the Indian trade. But the sudden death of Andrew Todd in New Orleans while Mackay and Evans were up the Missouri had ruined the Missouri Company, and its grandiose schemes miscarried. Mackay therefore returned to St. Louis abruptly in May, 1797.[81] That he had lost touch with Evans is clear from the fact that he informed the Spanish authorities that Don Juan Evans had successfully crossed the Mandans and was on his way to the Rockies.[82]

Evans left the Mandans promising them to return and furnish them with arms and ammunition, and their chief, Black Cat, complained bitterly to Lewis and Clark seven years later that he had deceived them by not doing so.[83] He descended the swiftly flowing stream, successfully avoiding its obstructions and sand bars and innumerable islands, and in sixty-eight days reached St. Louis on July 15, 1797.[84] He had been away for nearly two years.

John Evans communicated with Dr. Samuel Jones of Lower Dublin (Philadelphia) soon after his return.[85] His letter was, according to Morgan John Rhees, "a crude chaos of composition," and Rhees therefore "threw the substance of his report whilst on the Missouri into an *Extract*" which was, he says, published in several of the American papers,[86] and appeared with Rhees's own letters in the *Monthly Magazine* for March, 1798. Evans

[79] Morgan John Rhees to William Owen [-Pughe], Dec. 5, 1797, as above.

[80] Clamorgan to Carondelet, Apr. 10, 1796, Nasatir, document VII; also Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), p. 255.

[81] Teggart, p. 193, quoting a letter from Howard to Carondelet.

[82] L. Houck, *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), I, 334, and Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XVI (1929), 519–20, both quoting Howard's letter to Carondelet.

[83] Thwaites, *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, I, 223.

[84] *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.*

[85] Morgan John Rhees to William Owen [-Pughe], Dec. 5, 1797, as above.

[86] Same to same, Dec. 30, 1797, as above. For the New York *Daily Gazette* and the Philadelphia *Gazette* and *Aurora* see above.

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dwelt, as might be expected, on the original purpose of his strange journey. "In respect of the Welsh Indians," he said, "I have only to inform you that I could not meet with such a people, and from the intercourse I have had with Indians from latitude 35 to 49 I think you may with safety inform our friends that they have no existence."[87]

Mackay also stated that Evans had had "sufficient opportunity to prove that neither the Paducas nor any other tribe in that part of the continent could speak one word of Welch nor anything similar thereto." "If the Paducas be in anywise descended from the Welch," added Mackay, "their ancestors who landed in America must have been so few as to have necessitated to join or mix with a tribe more numerous than themselves, which circumstance (even during the first generation) must have made some alteration in their Language and manners and obliterated the whole in the Course of time."[88]

Morgan John Rhees, who somewhat belatedly maintained that he had always been doubtful of the existence of Welsh Indians, thought Evans' account very lame and considered that they were "left in the dark as much as ever in respect of their existence or non-existence." "Those who have asserted that there are such a people," he added, "may have equal credit in the scale of probability with those who only by superficial research declare they cannot find them."[89] The egregious William Owen [-Pughe], who was now supplying Southey with material for his unreadable epic poem on Madoc,[90] stated that Evans had not gone far enough. He had returned to St. Louis in sixty-eight days, whereas it was known (in London) that the Welsh Indians were a three months' journey from that place.[91] He was soon collecting further evidence, which indeed was forthcoming from many quarters, and was once more trotting forth the wise, if stale, opinions of "General" Bowles. As a result, in 1819, a Welsh-American, one John T. Roberts, of Oneida County in the state of New York, yet once more set out in search of the descendants of Madoc, but with equally futile results.[92]

Belief in the Madoc legend, in fact, continued unabated in Wales and America, and it may perhaps be said in exoneration of its devotees that Alexander von Humboldt, who was both one of the greatest travelers and one of the most critical minds of his age, thought it worthy of serious con-

[87] *Monthly Magazine, loc. cit.*
[88] E. G. Voorhis MS. as above.
[89] Morgan John Rhees to William Owen [-Pughe], Dec. 30, 1797, as above.
[90] Robert Southey to William Owen [-Pughe], Aug. 9, 1797, N.L.W., MS. 13222, folio 469.
[91] *Monthly Magazine,* V (April, 1798), 257; *ibid.,* V (September, 1798), 163–65 and elsewhere.
[92] *Seren Gomer,* 1819, pp. 201, 292; *Goleuad Cymru,* 1822, pp. 410–11.

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sideration,[93] while it is noteworthy that those who poured scorn on Madoc were equally skeptical about the pre-Columbian discoveries of the Norsemen. And once more, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the legend received a new lease of life, when the artist, George Catlin, published his vivid sketches and descriptions of the Mandans. He was more than a little inclined to accept the tradition, and was able to produce a list of nine Mandan words which, in his ignorance, he thought resembled words in Welsh.[94] His sketches were on a decidedly higher level than his philology, but henceforth his work was an essential item in the Madoc canon. For while in Wales the astringent scholarship of Thomas Stephens undermined the faith of all but the most obstinate zealots, among Welsh-Americans the legend still had its uses in St. David's Day and other celebrations, and continued to minister to their pride both in the glories of their race and in its contribution to the growth and development of the United States.[95]

It is probable that Evans had intended to return to Philadelphia when his mission had been completed, but, in reporting its failure to Dr. Samuel Jones, he mentioned that the Spanish authorities had offered to take him into their service.[96] Soon he was engaged as a land surveyor at Cap Girardeau, to the south of St. Louis, between that town and the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi.[97] His relations with the French owners of the land were not altogether amicable, as through some misunderstanding Evans had taken for himself land which had been intended for others. In the spring of 1798 some "unforeseen blow of bad fortune" befell him.[98] Of the nature of this misfortune we have no indication except Evans' remark that even all his clothes had been stolen, except what he had on.[99] Later he was able to recover his paper case, his flute and his "chart."[100]

Yet, despite the constant rumors of war between France and America, Evans had decided to live in Louisiana. Don Zenon Trudeau had promised him land, and on June 17, 1798, Evans wrote to him that he had decided

[93] Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe* (London, 1849), II, 609–10.

[94] George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1876), I, 65–207, and II, 259–61.

[95] B. F. De Costa, *Myvyrian Archaeology: The Pre-Columbian Voyages of the Welsh to America* (Albany, 1891); Charles E. De Land, "The Claims of the Welsh or Madocian Discovery of America, and Were the Mandans of Welsh Origin?" *South Dakota Historical Collections*, IV (1908), 651–726.

[96] *Monthly Magazine*, V (1798), 161–62. Thomas Stephens, *Madoc*, etc. [see Part I, p. 281, n. 15], p. 108, accepts the statement that Evans died in 1797 in St. Louis. He is very critical of the account in *Y Greal* which states that he died in 1799 in New Orleans.

[97] Nasatir, documents XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI.

[98] *Ibid.*, document XXII.

[99] *Ibid.*, document XXVI.

[100] *Ibid.*, document XXVIII.

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upon a spot where he could make a comfortable living. Although he was still only twenty-eight years of age he informed Trudeau:

> A reflection upon the shortness of life and the frowns of delusive fortune convinces me dayly of my duty to live a retired life as soon as I can. For we can scarcely mount the stage of Life before we ought to prepare to leave it to make room for the next actors. In a solitary life a man is allowed a few moments to converse with himself while in the crowd we are continually busy conversing with others until unsensibly snatch'd away by Death.[101]

Whether these sad reflections were due to his physical sufferings up the Missouri or to his more recent misfortunes, he was not destined to end his life in the solitude of Cap Girardeau. He was still in close touch with his friend Mackay, who recommended him to the new governor at New Orleans, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.[102] Don Manuel thought very highly of his services and took him into his household. He hoped to use him and Mackay in determining the frontier between the possessions of Britain, Spain, and the United States.[103] But on May 20, 1799, he was forced to write to Mackay as follows:

> Poor Evans is very ill; between us I perceived that he deranged himself when out of my sight, but I have perceived it too late; the strength of liquor has deranged his head; he has been out of his senses for several days, but with care he is doing better, and I hope he will get well enough to send him to his own country.[104]

Before the end of the month, Evans was dead.[105]

Whatever may have been the circumstances of his death, his friend Mackay continued to write of him as "a virtuous young man of promising talents, undaunted Courage and perseverance."[106] Fate had decreed that he should find a grave not with his family on the stony hillside at Waunfawr, but among men who were strangers to him in language, religion, and race amid the lush vegetation of the Mississippi delta. And although his strange journey is a rare example of the impelling power of human delusion, yet it was not without permanent value. Within a few months of his death Napoleon had acquired from Spain most of its vast undefined possessions west of the Mississippi, and three years later he sold it to the United States. The information gathered by John Evans, possibly at the expense of his health, was transferred to President Thomas Jefferson by Daniel Clark of New Or-

[101] *Ibid.*, document XXIV.
[102] Voorhis MS., as above.
[103] Nasatir, *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XXV.
[104] Teggart, *loc. cit.*
[105] Voorhis MS.
[106] *Ibid.*

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leans,[107] and was passed on by the President to Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The references in their *Journals* to Evans are but few,[108] but they profited by his work, and took his map with them on their great expedition to the Pacific, as their corrections on it testify. It was, indeed, a strange destiny which had led a Welsh Methodist to enter the service of the Roman Catholic government of Spain, and to play a part in the exploration of the vast wilderness of western North America.

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[107] I. J. Cox in a review of M. M. Quaife, ed., "Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway," State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Publications* XXII (1916), in *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, IV (1917), 269.

[108] Thwaites, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, I, 163, 195, 198, 200, 223.

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The Ancient Near East as History

Burr C. Brundage

A NEW historical survey of the trends in and the major characteristics of the Ancient Near East is earnestly needed at the present time. The reasons for this need are threefold. First, archaeology is again on the move after the breathing space enforced by wartime conditions and may soon be expected to produce a steady stream of new material. Secondly, advanced techniques of interpretation are being applied to accumulated knowledge in various areas of the field and bid fair to revolutionize it. Thirdly, it is worthy of note that the "old" history of the Ancient Near East, even as set forth in Breasted's full and imaginative prose, failed to enlist adequate support for the development of the field. The general reader, as well as the historian, has been made aware of the glamour and color in the studies undertaken by Orientalists and in the results of excavations, but few ever really grasped the pertinence of these studies to general history.

Historians now recognize the fallacy in the assumption that only those antecedent civilizations which have generously contributed to the making of our own great Western civilization are worthy of their prime interest. The teleology of human progress is so imperfectly understood, so hotly debated, that no historian today can undervalue a human adventure in the past simply because it is not immediately ancestral to our contemporary civilization. Western civilization, with all its global ramifications, conceivably will not be the last adventure of man on earth, and who knows from what unthought of and unrelated source its successor will spring?

The realization of such possibilities is the basis of the new history of the Ancient Near East now being erected upon the solid foundations of the old. Without injury to the prestige of classical or Islamic studies, the dignity of the history of the Ancient Near East is being raised and its profound implications for man, if not specifically for us of Western civilization, are by now apparent.

There is an obvious advantage in treating the Ancient Near East as a unit rather than as a disparate bundle of civilized and semicivilized states and nations.[1] Whatever similarities and common trends are present in all or

[1] The term "Ancient Near East" is awkward. It is, however, inclusive and is in common use. The expression "Ancient World" will be avoided in this paper as it is generally used to include both the Ancient Near East and Hellenic society as well, *i.e.*, Greece and Rome. The term "civilization-cluster" which is used later refers to such groups of related cultures and civilizations.

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most of these civilizations will by this method become evident. The achievement of such a vantage point will be of the highest value in the further intensive study of the Ancient Near East and will clarify relationships, at present obscure, between the Ancient Near East and succeeding or related civilization-clusters—Indic, Hellenic, Far Eastern, Byzantine, and Islamic. The usefulness of this hypothesis concerning the common nature of the Ancient Near East will become clear after we have established a working definition of the Ancient Near East.[2]

The various parts of the definition to be attempted are as follows: (a) the identification of components; (b) the identification of temporal limits; (c) a statement of the "abstracted ethos," *i. e.*, those characteristics and modes imposed upon the peoples and institutions of the Ancient Near East by the dominant problems facing them, first, as they enter onto the stage of history, and secondly, after their initial success in dominating their environment; and lastly (d) a statement of the nexus or relationship of the civilizations of the Ancient Near East with other civilization-clusters neighboring it in space and time.

I

The Ancient Near East is not a geographical concept. From one point of view it is a culture-complex of vast proportions. From another point of view it is a period in past time when a related group of civilizations lived by certain specific human values (to be described more fully below). However, if we are to make sense, we must also construe these civilizations spatially on the basis of their remains and of written accounts of them by others. Where was the Ancient Near East then, what peoples inhabited it, and what civilizations flourished in it?

The Ancient Near East was that area within which the major civilizations and related cultures interacted strongly upon one another. In periods of intense military and commercial activity, such as the Amarna Age or the years of the Medo-Persian empire, the area extended to the outer limits of recognizable influence. As periods of reduced vitality succeeded, these extreme limits collapsed inwardly, sometimes to the very borders of the major civilizations. We should note that, in establishing our farthest limits, it is not enough that influences from the core areas pass outward like waves, but that, from the outlying cultures affected, vigorous influences or actions must

[2] It might be well at this point to inform the reader that the present paper is a project for a longer work. It is an outline, and in its present undocumented form, is to be understood as a hypothesis only. While hoping to establish the larger validity of the hypothesis, the writer is under no illusion that all parts will emerge unchallenged.

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return upon these same core areas with recognizable impact. Such cultures as the Indic, the Scythian, the Ethiopian, or the Chinese were all the recipients of impulses originating in various areas within the Ancient Near East, but they failed to reciprocate markedly. They, and like civilizations, are therefore excluded from our definition.

Having now determined what civilizations and cultures the Ancient Near East did not include, we are in a position to discover and itemize those which it did include. The list which appears below is divided into three categories: competent civilizations, absorption civilizations, and peripheral cultures. With the exception of the first category, which is basic and complete, the list is intended to be suggestive only;[3] furthermore, it disregards sequential considerations.

Competent Civilizations	Major Absorption Civilizations Located According to Homeland	Major Peripheral Cultures Located According to Homeland
Sumero-Semitic[4]	*Zagros highland*[5]	
Egyptian	Elamite	Gutean
Minoan	Medo-Persian	Kassite
Israelite	Sasanid	Lullu
	Anatolia[5]	
	Hittite	Carian
	Lydian	Lycian

[3] It cannot be emphasized too strongly that such a listing is at best approximate and at worst subject to criticism in almost every particular. This is due partly to the rapidity with which Ancient Near Eastern studies and archaeology are moving, and partly to the incidence of the author's own judgment. In a paper of this kind there is no room to adduce the reasoning behind each listing or explanations for seemingly arbitrary omissions. The system of evaluation used does not consider each culture for itself but only in its relationships to the other cultures of the Ancient Near East. Thus some of the cultures of South Arabia, for instance, might be considered culturally potent enough to be classed as absorption cultures if one is thinking of the influence of that area upon Ethiopia. But Ethiopia is outside our field of interest; we exclude all comparisons but internal ones (*i.e.*, within the Ancient Near East).

[4] The original Sumerian transmuted by and including Akkadian, Amorite, Assyrian, and Chaldaean elements.

[5] The Zagros cultures, like those of Anatolia, are in most respects still very unclear. An important temporal division can be made, however, at that point in time when the Aryan-speaking peoples first appear in the highlands. So little is known about the Guti, for instance, that it is presumptuous to assume that that culture is peripheral and could not possibly be classed with the absorption civilizations. The Kassite culture is a similar case. The cultures of eastern Cilicia and Cappadocia, and of north Syria seem to form an important linkage group (not appearing in the list) between central and western Anatolia on the one hand and Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia on the other.

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Competent Civilizations	Major Absorption Civilizations Located According to Homeland	Major Peripheral Cultures Located According to Homeland
	Syria-Palestine	*Aegean basin*
	Canaanite (exclusive of Israelite)	Mycenaean
	Hurrian	Cycladic
	Phoenician[6]	*Caucasian highland*
		Haldian
		early Armenian
		Cis-Oxian Iran
		Bactrian
		Parthian
		North African steppe
		Libyan
		Nubian
		North Arabian steppe[7]
		Amorite
		Aramaean
		Edomite
		Nabataean
		Sea-land
		Suti
		South Arabia
		Himyarite
		Minaean
		Sabaean

The four competent civilizations, Sumero-Semitic, Egyptian, Minoan, and Israelite, represent the main cultures around which the others may logically be grouped. They form indeed the central core which the historian must bear constantly in mind in any serious study of the period. We define them as "competent" in reference to original and vital achievement carried on over an appreciable period, as well as to the fact that even in their most inactive periods they continued to influence and stimulate contiguous cul-

[6] Includes Punic civilization as a distant outlier in the western Mediterranean.

[7] Undoubtedly some of the cultures in this item overlap. They range from purely beduin cultures, such as the Suti (Egyptian *Setiu*), to relatively civilized peoples, such as the Nabataeans.

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tures. So immense was the cultural and intellectual weight of these giant civilizations, so successfully did each maintain its special ethos over the centuries—or at least the outward appearance of it—that they attained a longevity rarely equaled in history. One of them, the Israelite, may with some justice be said to have survived, in its tenacious modern descendant, down to the present.[8]

The absorption civilizations, as the term implies, laid the groundwork for their later achievements upon a checkered substratum of material and intellectual borrowings from the competent civilizations. Indeed, throughout their histories they continued to evince remarkable assimilative and adaptive traits. It was not a historical accident that the alphabet, supreme product of cultural borrowing and adaptation, should have arisen in the area of the absorption civilizations. The cultural friction to which these civilizations were subjected by their more powerful neighbors stimulated them to advances significant in the history of progress. We may therefore look upon them as only a little less creative culturally than the competent civilizations.

Any picture of the mechanics of cultural interchange in the Ancient Near East will perforce be focused most sharply on the absorption civilizations, for it was under their mediation or in their streets and palaces that the competent civilizations met. The lack of direct contact between the competent civilizations, because of fortuitous barriers of sand and sea, is one of the

[8] The inclusion of Israelite in the list of competent civilizations needs explanation. The Israelite civilization was in a sense a sport—*in* the Ancient Near East but not wholly *of* it. In origin Israelite was a peripheral culture from the north Arabian steppe, similar to the Suti, Amorite, and Aramaean-speaking peoples; most probably it formed a part of one or more of these beduin cultures from time to time. At any rate, during a formative period in its early history it seems to have oscillated along the middle Euphrates region, where it received that intellectual and legalistic cast so distinctive of the Sumero-Semitic civilization. Over this foundation were spread Egyptian and Canaanite influences, after it had moved over the Jordan and settled down in an area of absorption civilizations. Seemingly it should then have followed the course of either an absorption or a peripheral culture. It remains one of the profound mysteries of history that Israel should have produced instead the first great, and as yet unsurpassed, intellectual, religious, and ethical corpus of speculation. The intensity and utter preoccupation in which the historical Israelites dealt with this new light, and the consequent moral and ethnic expansiveness of their civilization, gave it a power out of all relation to their numbers or to the stage of their material culture. Because of this abounding vitality we must class Israel as a competent civilization; because of its multitudinous connections with the Land of the Two Rivers, with Egypt and with Syria, we must class it as Near Eastern. But Israelite civilization did not partake to any great extent of the common nature of the Ancient Near East (referred to later as the "abstracted ethos"), and it therefore presents us with an exceedingly knotty problem of classification. The insistence of the great Israelite thinkers that God is transcendent, above and outside of nature, effectively removed them from the milieu of their times. The rigor with which they proclaimed the inner duty of man isolated them from the intellectual and religious life around them. Early Christianity is also a competent civilization, but is not to be included within the circuit of the Ancient Near East. As is well known, Christianity is a blend of Hebrew and Hellenistic traits—including some distinctly Ancient Near Eastern elements—but because of the overpowering predominance of Hellenism in the part of the world in which it was conceived, it continued to effect its growth within a rigidly Roman (Hellenistic) framework, turning naturally to the West for its greatest achievements. As a matter of fact Christianity displayed a notable lack of permanent success in the areas pre-empted by the competent civilizations of the Ancient Near East.

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very significant facts of Ancient Near Eastern history. It contrasts vividly with the conditions of our own civilization-cluster (Western civilization), wherein many of the competent civilizations, such as France, Germany, England, Spain, Italy, etc., have existed side by side for centuries.

By virtue of their political or cultural attraction toward one or more of the competent or absorption civilizations, the peripheral cultures fall within the compass of the Ancient Near East. The latter cultures differ from those described above in the paucity and limitation of their contribution to the life of the Ancient Near East. They were players on the cultural side lines. Whenever events drew them more closely into the circle, their behavior usually assumed the aspect of purely commercial activity or of barbarian conquest, instead of the steady reciprocating friction of one relatively equal mass upon another. When sedentary, the peripheral cultures often played the part of middlemen between the Ancient Near East and the world outside, whether that outside world took the form of an inchoate jumble of barbarian tribes or another civilization-cluster, such as that of the Hellenic world.

We have now broken our components into three categories descriptive of the relative originality and potency of their respective cultures. Two valid generalizations may be extracted from the list. First, that in the order given (competent civilization, absorption civilization, and peripheral culture) there is discernible (with the exception of the north Arabian steppe cultures) an ever-increasing distance from the great centers concomitant with a rough progression in time. This can only be interpreted to mean that, regardless of minor fluctuations, the area of the Ancient Near East continued to expand, by land to the east, by sea to the west.[9] The second generalization regards the increasingly warlike and barbaric appearance (mentioned above) of the names on the list as we cast our eyes along it, so much so that finally many of the peripheral cultures appear in much the same relation to the Ancient Near East as the barbarian tribes and kingdoms of the first half of the first millennium A.D. do to the Roman empire.[10]

[9] Greek, Macedonian, Roman, and Byzantine attack checked and finally completely dissolved this expansion to the west.

[10] Recalling Toynbee's "barbarian war-bands." Note might be made here of Toynbee's general views regarding the Ancient Near East, inasmuch as they are expressive of an attempt to deal largely with the subject. Toynbee is excessively weak in his treatment of certain phases of the Ancient Near East. At the outset of his monumental history, he commits a fundamental error which vitiates much of his argument. He defines an "intelligible field of study" as a "society," or "group" of allied civilizations, examples being the society of Western Christendom, which includes Great Britain, France, Spain, etc., and the Hellenic society, which includes Greece and Rome. He then proceeds, however, to discover six societies in the period and region of our interest, Sumeric, Babylonic, Egyptiac, Minoan, Hittite, and Syriac, some of which are not groups at all, but individual civilizations corresponding to Great Britain, or France, or Spain, and according to his definition, therefore, not "intelligible fields of study." To each case he at-

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II

In the informed popular mind there persists the quite justifiable conception of the alpha and omega of the Ancient Near East as, respectively, the invention of writing in the fourth millennium B.C., and the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C. (or the defeat of Darius III at the hands of Alexander in 331 B.C.). The Hellenistic and Roman period, as well as the Parthian and Sasanian empires are vaguely considered as existing in a kind of penumbral state, neither fish nor fowl. Some scholars treat this millennium which follows the imposing work of Cyrus the Persian as if it were but an aspect of Hellenic or Byzantine history, while others view it through pre-Islamic spectacles. In effect few have felt themselves on solid ground when dealing with it.

Obviously a dividing point does exist in history, which we can represent by the date of the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C. But we would be misrepresenting the facts to assume that that date represents therefore the *terminus ad quem* of the Ancient Near East. Before this date the several civilizations and cultures had each glowed in its setting with intermittent flashes, a world of diverse colors and discrete parts. Beginning with that year, Achaemenid domination unrolled rapidly and smoothly over a now widely extended area, solidifying the whole and creating the first *Pax Orientalis*. Because the Achaemenid empire and its two successors, the Parthian and Sasanian empires, nourished the essential spirit and prestige of the Ancient Near East, we must admit that 539 B.C. is only the closing of a chapter in its career.

We must look further to fix on a date at which point we can with justice state that the Ancient Near East is no more. This date we equate with the

tempts to apply that pattern which he developed from a study of the Hellenic society, namely, a period of growth, a time of troubles, a universal state, in which period arise both external and internal proletariats (barbarian war-bands and the universal church respectively), and lastly an interregnum which includes a *Völkerwanderung* of the barbarians and the gestation of a new society in the universal church. Such a compressed statement of course does grave injustice to Toynbee's theory, which is more fluid than the above would suggest. In some cases he badly strains his argument; in others he barely skims the surface. His treatment of the Sumeric society is indecisive and reveals little understanding of its paramount importance as a grand exemplar in the world of the Ancient Near Eastern civilizations. As a matter of fact, Toynbee seems unaware of the importance of lateral influences of one civilization upon another. To him they affect each other mainly as they give birth to a new society or are born from one. Like sticks in a children's game they seem to be laid end to end. His treatment of the relationship of the Minoan to the Syriac society is quite fanciful in this regard. The Syriac society, whose period of growth begins *ca.* 1125 B.C. and ends with the collapse of Solomon's kingdom, possesses apparently no progenitors at all, except—in a vague and uncrystallized way—Minoan Crete. Three obvious absurdities can be corrected here: (1) the Syriac society is older than 1125 B.C.; (2) it had definite cultural and spiritual forces playing upon it from the beginning from both Egypt and Mesopotamia; and (3) the currents of culture moved not only from west to east between Crete and Syria-Palestine but just as strongly from east to west. In justice to Toynbee, the historian of the Ancient Near East must acknowledge that, in spite of his fumblings, he is one of the very few historians outside the field who ever cast more than a casual glance inside. In so doing he has recognized the prime importance of this area of study and has announced its merits to the whole field of history.

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first successful challenge flung by the rising power of Islam against the last of the Sasanid emperors in the year 632 A.D. The objection may be entered here that, if we carry the Ancient Near East into Parthian and Persian times, how do we know that it does not project into the period of the Caliphate? Admittedly Islam carried on isolated pieces of Ancient Near Eastern culture, irrigation agriculture, commercial patterns, etc.[11] Its advent, however, led ultimately to the deletion of those tongues, such as Coptic, Aramaic, and Babylonian Semitic, in which had been enshrined most of the religious and intellectual life of the Ancient Near East. This language frontier is an important dividing line between the Ancient Near East and Islam.

The several periods of Ancient Near Eastern empire, Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Assyrian, Achaemenid, Parthian, and Sasanian, had all been merely conquests of opportunity, without any compelling creed or message to broadcast. As a consequence the fundamentals of Ancient Near Eastern life remained virtually intact and the rate of change of the various cultural elements was scarcely disturbed. Islam on the contrary was impelled outward by a positive idea. The introduction of this idea turned out to be the catalyst which regrouped old elements of the Ancient Near East to such an extent that their former configurations were no longer apparent. In this manner we say that Islam terminated the period of the Ancient Near East.[12]

We must now turn our attention back to the beginnings. Unavoidably we are vague at this point. Only when much more material has been recovered by the archaeologist will we be able to visualize the general connections between mesolithic and neolithic cultures and the Ancient Near East.

[11] It is not this simple. New civilizations do not arise phoenix-like from the ashes of predecessor civilizations and cultures. They result from a recombination of selected elements, which in former combinations had become inert. Thrown into this potpourri are novel features from the rising civilization. This mass of heterogeneous elements is then grouped to accord with the several dominant problems facing the new civilization. The decay of civilizations is erroneously conceived if we insist that all of the various elements—intellectual, esthetic, technological, etc.—begin to break down as the end approaches. A civilization is not an organism; and therefore, even as the over-all inertia of final extinction settles upon it, it is entirely possible —and it often happens—that certain vigorous elements, ideas or institutions, are at that moment either in a state of gestation or are actually operative.

[12] The degree and quality of affiliation of Islam to its predecessor, the Ancient Near East, calls for more intensive research. The motivating power of political Islam was Arabian, but its whole background and orientation were Syro-Palestinian, and specifically Judeo-Christian. Owing to the fact that the Israelite and early Christian civilizations were not totally within the Ancient Near East (see footnote 8), however, this relationship can not be cited to disprove our contention that the rise of Islam implied the end of the Ancient Near East. An outstanding difference between the abstracted ethos of the Ancient Near East and that of Islam is to be found in the fact that Islam offered no sacraments, mysteries, or hierarchy of priests, as did most of the religions of the Ancient Near East. Islam did not conceive of man as being as closely enmeshed in the web of Nature and natural forces as its predecessor civilizations did. In view of this, Hitti's statement that "the Moslem conquests may be looked upon as the recovery by the Ancient Near East of its early domain (*The Arabs: A Short History* [Princeton, 1943], p. 47)" is manifestly incorrect.

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This much does seem evident now, however. If the abstracted ethos of the Ancient Near East is to be located with reference to the central problem facing it, namely, how the state could best aid in maintaining the essential harmony of nature, and consequently the well-being of mankind—which problem was solved through sacraments and manipulation of the gods and other powers—then we are justified in establishing our *terminus a quo* at the point of man's first awareness of this problem. And this point of necessity must precede the invention of the art of writing.[13] Writing, at least in those Sumerian centers where it appears in its oldest form, evolved partially as an adjunct of the systematization of temple life, and is thus subsequent to it in point of time. And temple life in turn reflects the emergence of that ethos which we recognize as essentially Ancient Near Eastern. The beginnings of the Ancient Near East are thus pre-literate; this much we can say.

III

We assume for convenience that every recognizable civilization or culture possesses an ethos, or essential characteristic, which may be made up of one dominating trait or many. Our need to postulate the existence of civilization-clusters, or related families of civilizations, must of course take into account the ethos of each component. Vital dissimilarities among these ethoi must constantly be borne in mind, but for purposes of classification the similarities are more important. The sum of all these similar dominant characteristics we shall term the "abstracted ethos" of the civilization-cluster under consideration. Using it as a kind of yardstick, not only can we measure the amount of departure from the norm of each component but with equal value we can apply it to other civilization-clusters.

It is evident that change alters this abstracted ethos profoundly as the history of the Ancient Near East unfolds. But it is equally evident that the original configurations, because they did succeed initially in maintaining society, will tend to reveal a persistence out of all proportion to their inner merit. Some of the elements making up this initial abstracted ethos are: (a) conception of the utter immersion of man in nature; (b) richness and immediacy of religious life; (c) inability to adduce abstractions; (d) prominence of the concept of the Primeval Chaos.

We may assume that some at least of the above elements possessed a respectable antiquity even by the beginning of our period. Coupled with the

[13] E. A. Speiser's recent discussion would seem to bear this statement out. *Studies in the History of Culture: Some Sources of Intellectual and Social Progress in the Ancient Near East* (Washington, 1942), pp. 57, 58, 61.

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potentialities of irrigation and terrace agriculture, metallurgy, and an increasingly complex village life (in the process of becoming city life), these elements combined to produce man's first group of competent civilizations: Sumero-Semitic, Egyptian, and Minoan.[14]

The conception of the utter immersion of man in nature is a corollary to Wilson's excellent statement of the consubstantiality of the elements of the Egyptian's universe, and is also implied in Jacobsen's somewhat similar statement regarding the Mesopotamian universe.[15] The peoples of the Ancient Near East were newly sprung from their neolithic earth and had as yet no appreciation of their own potentialities. Child-like and direct, they felt intensely the overpowering similarities between themselves and the stuff of nature: conception, birth, ripeness, and death. Disassociation from nature in any sense would have appealed to them as neither desirable nor possible. The power of their point of view is attested by the frequency with which it continues to crop out in more highly articulated cultures of later times. We can best understand it by comparing it to the apartness of man and nature in Greek and Roman thought. In this latter instance men had discovered an essential point of difference between themselves and the rest of nature. This difference resided in their intellectual and reasoning faculties, which plainly were extracted from nature because they could be focused upon it.

The richness and immediacy of religious life to the nations of the Ancient Near East is truly impressive. Not even in medieval times has society so thoroughly concentrated the totality of its intellectual, philosophical, and ethical speculation within the apparatus and imagery of religion. A case can be made for the assumption that the Ancient Near Eastern religions are the monuments par excellence of the Ancient Near Eastern civilizations and that only through assiduous investigation of these religions can we arrive at a correct perspective of the period. In this respect the contrast with Islam and with the classical world is instructive. Islam became essentially political once it had leaped the barrier between desert and cultivated land, and no one would ever suggest that any religion whatsoever motivated the actions of the Hellenistic states.

[14] Israel, because of its late arrival upon the scene, was faced with patterns of life and thought that had been operative, in theory at least, for several centuries in the area of the Ancient Near East, but which had by that time in part ceased to fulfill their original functions. The new imperatives of life in that area, and not those early imperatives which produced the original abstracted ethos, were the ones which activated late-coming Israel. The particular ethos of Israelite civilization thus departs widely from the abstracted ethos of the Ancient Near East as a whole.

[15] H. Frankfort, *et al.*, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 62–71, 149.

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The awkwardness displayed by the Ancient Near Eastern mind in dealing with abstractions again evinces the newness of his world. The classic example of this awkwardness is the failure of the Old Kingdom scribe in Egypt to extract from his clumsy syllabary the very serviceable alphabet embedded in it. In general the mind of this period was limited in its expression to that circle of ideas which could be brought out in the imagery of the concrete. The great nature religions of the Sumerians, the Egyptians, the Canaanites, etc., are clear examples of such nonabstract thinking.

The prominence of the concept of the Primeval Chaos, the Nun of the Egyptians, the Tiamat of the Babylonians, may perhaps be tied to the peculiar circumstances surrounding the origins of civilized life in the Ancient Near East. Unlike the Hellenic, Byzantine, Far Eastern, medieval, and Western worlds, the Ancient Near East had no civilized predecessors.[16] This point needs stressing. The uniqueness of that which the Sumerian, the Egyptian, and the Minoan created stood out in their minds in startling contrast to the unrelieved gloom and heavy inertness of its matrix. Chaos had been but recently overpowered; its menace was still omnipresent. Haunted by its implications, because familiar with its manifestations, the imagination of the Ancient Near East dwelt upon the concept of Primeval Chaos with a fascination unknown to the mythopoeic mind of other civilization-clusters farther removed from the actuality of chaos in point of time.

For how long a period did the original abstracted ethos which we have just considered provide a way of life for men and states in the Ancient Near East? We have noted the transcendent importance of religion in the abstracted ethos; perhaps we can now utilize it, along with other data mentioned below, for purposes of measuring change in that ethos.

As far back in time as we can see, the great nature religions in the area dominated the scene. We may date those beginnings roughly to the early part of the fourth millennium B.C. In the second half of the third millennium we can perceive a change in the making. The much-increased complexity and weight of material culture by this time have told on the older provincialisms, broken them down to some extent, and paved the way for empire. Here we have the earliest stratum of empires, those of Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt, of Akkad, Ur III, and of the First Dynasty of Babylon. In the seventeenth century B.C. the short-lived empire of the Hyksos king Khayana leads directly to that prolonged and startling period of empire inaugurated by the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt.

[16] Thus the only civilization-cluster which we could logically use here for comparative purposes would be the Mayan-Mexican group. The relations between this and the civilization-cluster located in the Andean highlands are obscure, otherwise we would be tempted to use this latter also for use in comparisons.

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Concomitant with this second layer of *empire* appear three other new phenomena, that of *personalism,* and—contesting the field now with the nature religions—the first inklings of *revealed religion.* Springing from the latter is the *concept of the future,* generally taking the form of a Heaven in the afterworld, or a Promised Land in this. With the appearance of these four elements we are made aware that the original abstracted ethos has been altered. It must be emphasized, however, that these new elements could not radically transmute the still continuing old forms (imposed by the original abstracted ethos) which by now gave off a heavy odor of sanctity. Also we must note that these new elements develop continuously throughout the whole of the latter period of the Ancient Near East. We bring them in at this point because by now they have become sufficiently powerful to affect the whole life of the Ancient Near East.

It is unnecessary to expatiate upon this new abstracted ethos which was supplementing and in part displacing the old. An example will make clear the relationship between the first and second layers of Ancient Near Eastern empire. The Old and Middle Kingdom empires, although appreciable in extent, did not react markedly upon Egypt. The New Kingdom empire of the Eighteenth Dynasty on the other hand was a cultural partnership (witness the accelerated linguistic and cultural borrowing between Egypt and Syria-Palestine in this period), which fact serves to distinguish it from those anterior empires.

The empires of Akkad, or Ur III, and of the first Babylonian dynasty were short-lived but important predecessors of the Assyrian empire. The relationship they bear to the Assyrian empire, however, may well parallel that between the aforementioned Egyptian empires, though the evidence is not as clear.

The Minoan thalassocracy was an early, significant, and apparently far-flung empire, perhaps contemporary in its origins with the rise of the New Kingdom of Egypt. The imperial state raised up by David and Solomon in the hills of Palestine and in Trans-Jordan may be mentioned here, but it obviously does not represent the real significance of the fourth competent civilization. The political skills of Israel were certainly not notable—in fact they were decidedly inferior. The extrapolated Carthaginian empire is considered below (see footnote 21) as simply an aspect of Phoenician sea power.

Following the Assyrian, appear the Neo-Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Parthian, and the Sasanian empires.[17] A fairly consistent progression

[17] The four periods of alien intrusion following the collapse of the Medo-Persian empire are omitted from this discussion (the Alexandrine empire, the states of his successors, the Roman, and the Byzantine empires), not because they were not of large significance in the development of Ancient Near Eastern culture and thought but because they represent in part the imposition

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can be discerned as these empires work up from the crude Egyptian efforts to the well-integrated and sophisticated Achaemenian empire, the first successful world-state. Following this high-water mark, the Ancient Near East slowly contracted to a fraction of the area it had once so fully occupied.[18]

It has sometimes been said that the Ancient Near East never surpassed —in art, in technology, or in thought—the achievements of Old Kingdom Egypt, of Middle Minoan II, and of early dynastic Sumer, that after these periods we meet with less and less virile cultures. Toynbee reflects this in his emphasis on the earliest period as being in general the most highly creative in the life of a civilization. This does not always square with the facts, at least in regard to the Ancient Near East. Admittedly the flowering of these periods has a freshness and vitality which charm and amaze. We cannot, however, escape the conclusion that vitality and creativeness were simply transferred to other fields of human activity as those great periods waned; they were not lost.[19] In the exciting hurly-burly of the Egyptian and Assyrian empires much of value did vanish; nevertheless human ingenuity, artistry, and thought continued to bear fruit. We may deplore the overlay of artifice and imitation gathering like thick verdigris on these empires, but we do not forget that the problems which faced them were vastly different, and surely more complex, than those which faced their progenitors. As societies progress, they generally produce larger populations, which in turn offer challenges that absorb much of their political energy.

Decay seems to have set in in each of these three competent civilizations during the height of their imperial adventures. The Minoan thalassocracy foundered suddenly and without a trace, so completely as a matter of fact that, as a component of the Ancient Near East, it was thenceforth removed from the scene. In the New Kingdom, Egypt's massing of resources carried her rapidly toward world dominion. The brilliant, if repressive, empire

of the abstracted ethoi of two foreign civilization-clusters, with which we do not have space to deal.

[18] The collapse of the original abstracted ethos allowed experimentation with empire: it did not make it inevitable. It is interesting to observe that it was the competent civilizations—Egyptian, Minoan, and Sumero-Semitic—which initiated the first successful imperial ventures. Apparently they had retained enough drive, left over from their more flourishing days, to accomplish this. But those empires which followed were constructed by either absorption civilizations (Medo-Persian and Sasanian) or peripheral cultures (Parthian). It is the date 539 B.C., mentioned earlier in this paper, which separates the empires emanating from the great core areas from those imposed upon those areas by their lesser brothers of the Ancient Near East.

[19] The stability and prosperity of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt was a political triumph of no small magnitude, considering the painful break with Memphite tradition and the rampant separatism of the rural nobles. Surely Late Minoan II represents a tour de force of overseas organization on the part of an island poorly provided with natural resources. Nor can we underestimate the outpouring of skill and energy from Babylon in the days of Hammurabi, the fine sense of order and legal sanction which is evident in that period.

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which resulted produced the Amarna Age and then fell away in a diminishing series of thrusts and counterthrusts into the Twentieth Dynasty. Geographical isolation and unhampered food production enabled Egypt to nurse the ghost of imperial pretensions down into the reign of Amasis, last king but one of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The Sumero-Semitic civilization, which had been experimenting with empires from at least the time of Sargon of Akkad, developed a relatively high standard of efficiency in administration under the Assyrian conquerors. The Assyrian empire was a successful advance over the Egyptian experiment, even if measured in terms of extent only, and yet its fall was as precipitous and complete as that of the Cretan empire. Sufficient facts are not yet at hand to explain adequately or to isolate the obviously important cultural weaknesses in Sumero-Semitic life that caused such an amazing collapse. The Neo-Babylonian empire was only a fleeting image of its Assyrian predecessor.

All of the empires mentioned above were merely curtain-raisers to the grand accomplishment of the imperial purpose under the gifted rulers of the Achaemenid house.

Personalism is a necessary corollary to the Amarna Age, although it did not spring up full blown at that precise period. The fragmentation of group objectives incident upon entering into the complex climate of empire offers greater freedom to the privileged individual and weakens to just that extent the canons of group thinking. The new and unusual opportunities offered to the individual by the wealth, the bureaucracy, and the intellectual stimulation of empire spurred on his sophistication. In Egypt the plethora of New Kingdom tombs, as well as the evidence of a growing class of civil servants, bear witness to this gradually changing way of life in the Ancient Near East. The employment of Aramaeans and Greeks by Assyrian and Persian overlords points in the same direction.[20]

The frescoes from the imperial palace at Knossos present us with a lively array of courtiers and fashionable ladies. It is impossible not to react in an essentially contemporary manner to the ease, individualism, and grace of

[20] The new interest in the individual is explicitly illustrated by the story of the Egyptian priest Wenamon. This is one of the first psychological novels in history, a piece of work concerned solely with secular and human events, and grouped around the two protagonists of the story, Wenamon and Zakar-Baal, prince of Byblos. The contrast with the Middle Kingdom Sinuhe is instructive. Sinuhe is a character in a dream, only dimly outlined. The story deals with his utter misery at having been forced into the uncouth society of the beduin, and his relief and joy at finally regaining his station in Egyptian society in the protecting shadow of the throne. Sinuhe is any Egyptian living in exile. Wenamon is distinctly himself and could not possibly be mistaken for anyone else. From Sinuhe to Wenamon there has occurred interesting progress in the direction of increasing personalism.

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these ancients. Surely the court of Minos had proceeded far in the direction of personalism by this time.

Much of the Old Testament reveals a highly developed sense of the individual as viewed apart from his society. Jeremiah and Ezekiel come to mind here. Koheleth, in his *fin de siècle* wisdom, surveys the world as a complete individual, reminding us of the combined characteristics of La Rochefoucauld, Chateaubriand, and Baudelaire.

The change in the abstracted ethos from the nature religions to revealed religion is a conspicuous landmark in the development of the Ancient Near East and of the world in general. It is so intimately associated, however, with both empire and personalism that separate treatment is justified only for purposes of organization. Actually the three should be considered as facets of one phenomenon.

In the period of the great nature religions, a messiah, a common man from the soil or the bench, claiming to be the son of a god, would have been unthinkable and in the last degree sacrilegious. The nature religions had grown up as the bone and flesh of the early states of the Ancient Near East. They had had no specific beginnings, except as the civilizations themselves had had specific beginnings, and therefore seemed eternal. They needed no prophets, for to their devotees they were as self-evident as the state itself. It followed that as long as the early states retained their pristine vigor, their congeners, the nature religions, would also remain active and intelligible.

But when these states ventured out into the ways of imperialism, by just so much were the nature religions forced to extend their orbits. This extension both fertilized and strained religious speculation; nevertheless, the nature religions were able to adapt themselves only clumsily to these new conditions. Essentially they failed to fulfill the religious desires of those masses of people who were gaining access to the lower levels of the Ancient Near Eastern cultures, thus leaving the field open to the youthful force of revealed religion.

The religions preached by the messiahs and prophets of this period acted like prodigious earthquakes, shattering the ancient structures of empire and society—and with incredible force casting up younger empires and more exalted intellectual and religious concepts. Ikhnaton, Moses, Isaiah, Jesus, Zarathustra, Mani—such men were only the foremost of many individuals who arose to castigate the past and announce the future. The world still reverberates to the echoes of this momentous development out of the Ancient Near Eastern past.

Through these revealed religions man was first confronted with the

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preachment that there could be such a thing as a future for both individual and society, a future different from that which the past had contrived. The evidence of tomb burials in the Ancient Near East does not militate against this argument, for such a future life for the individual was designed to be an exact replica of past life on earth. Stirred by the great prophets, men were now fired by thoughts of a future which could be different from the past, and more desirable. It is no coincidence that the nature religions stress beginnings in their cosmologies, while the religions of the prophets tend to stress blessed and hopeful endings, a Promised Land either on earth or in heaven. The concept of a future added immeasurably to man's store of intellectual tools. Furthermore, it weakened perceptibly the spiritual rigidity to which he had so far been accustomed.

IV

We have already mentioned how the Ancient Near East was connected terminally with its successor, Islamic culture, and so we need consider further only the relationships of the Ancient Near East with the Hellenic, the Byzantine, the Indic, and the Far Eastern groups.

To make clear these relationships we must first note that the Ancient Near East is enclosed on all sides by sea and desert, except along the north where mountain valleys and steppe afford generally easy access into the region. Such physical isolation goes far toward explaining the geographical longevity of the Ancient Near East.

The desert barrier forms a vast semicircular shield on the south, and includes the Libyan and Nubian deserts, the Rub al Khali, the barren coastal regions of ancient Gedrosia and the salt pans of inner Iran. This practically continuous zone of aridity is pierced at two points by long northwesterly fingers of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, each of which probes up into the heart of the Ancient Near East. Along these waterways passed influences to and from the Indus valley and the Far East. The ports of entry appear to have been the Yemen and the Bahrein region respectively, although future investigation way well include Oman.

On the west, except for the narrow Hellespontine and Bosporan landbridges, the approach was guarded by wide stretches of sea; these waters were dominated by Oriental keels for roughly 2,500 years. The disappearance of the Minoan thalassocracy in the late fifteenth century signalized changing conditions, but control continued to be exercised, through the Mycenaean period and the Viking-like razzias of the Sea-Peoples, down to

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the tremendous recrudescence of Ancient Near Eastern sea power under Achaemenid and Carthaginian rule.[21] At Salamis and Himera (480 B.C.) that sea power was severely handled. The capture of Tyre in 332 B.C. by Alexander, and the close of the Punic Wars in 146 B.C. gave final mastery of these waters to the Hellenic world.

For the early period, however, the significant point of contact between the Ancient Near East and the new Hellenic world struggling into birth was that area of western Anatolia that cradled the Carian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Ionian cities and states. The failure of historians to see all these cultures, Asiatic as well as Greek, as stirring with a new commercial and intellectual ferment, has led them to explain Ionic culture in terms of spontaneous combustion, an urban flowering created almost entirely out of the admittedly exceptional characteristics of the Ionian Greeks themselves. Needless to say, this view can no longer be held without plentiful modification. Ionia, though inhabited by Greeks, was still an appanage of the Orient, and a creditable part of the advances achieved there was due to new techniques in science and thought created in the older centers to the east. Thus there appears to have been a much smoother joining of the two civilization-clusters, during the dawn of Greek culture, than has heretofore been imagined. The propulsive forces of civilization flowed without perceptible break at this crucial point from one world to another, from East to West.

The loss of maritime supremacy was nearly fatal to the Ancient Near East, and from that blow there was no recovery. Like a great wave the Hellenic world broke in upon it, engulfing all of Anatolia, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt—an immense and productive portion of the Ancient Near East which had nourished three of its four competent civilizations. The Ancient Near East was thus forced back and from this point on pivoted on the middle Tigris and the Iranian highlands. But the rude shock of these reverses had fanned the dying embers of Ancient Near Eastern vitality in the persons of the Parthian and Sasanian dynasts, and these two houses succeeded in establishing an uneasy political equilibrium along the line of the Euphrates for over seven hundred years.

A thousand years of intermittent warfare tie the East and the West to-

[21] The brilliant rise of the Carthaginian empire at about this time represented an extension and renewal of the Ancient Near Eastern sea arm in the Western Mediterranean of epochal proportions. It was staged in an area originally opened up by the Minoans, followed by the Sea-Peoples and the Phoenicians, and thus caps a long tradition of westward expansion. The rapid growth of the Hellenic world in Greece, Italy, and Sicily, cut athwart the life lines tying Carthaginian civilization into the Ancient Near Eastern complex. Thus it was insulated and thrown upon its own resources at an early date. The Punic Wars are as much a chapter in the extinction of Ancient Near Eastern control of its western sea approaches as the defeat at Salamis or the fall of Tyre to Alexander the Great.

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gether.[22] The absorption by one protagonist of a large fragment of the other produced a permanent channel, leading from the older to the younger, along which flowed religious stimuli from both layers of Ancient Near Eastern religion, as well as profound esthetic influences. The influences from West to East were not nearly so lasting or far-reaching in their effects, being limited largely to the military arts. In brief (outside of that close and peaceful connection originally established in the civilizations of western Anatolia) the nexus between the Ancient Near East on the one hand and the Hellenic and Byzantine worlds on the other was that of immediate and close antagonism, resulting for the Ancient Near East in utter sterility.

The relationship between the Ancient Near East and the Far East was otherwise. Separated by tremendous distances by sea, and a succession of nomadic tribes by land, the two civilization-clusters knew each other only through peaceful exchange of goods, and the impulsion eastward of the techniques of civilization in the earliest period. The nexus between the Ancient Near East and the Indic cultures is obscure; it may fall into the above pattern, except that direct communication by sea may be postulated between the two from the very earliest period.

Our discussion must close with that summary definition of the Ancient Near East which we set out in the beginning to discover. The Ancient Near East then is that group of cultures which cluster around, and include, the four competent civilizations, Sumero-Semitic, Egyptian, Minoan, and Israelite. Its origins in time are shrouded in mists, but it closes with the rise of Islam, a definite date. It is distinguished from other civilization-clusters, insofar as its abstracted ethos is concerned, by certain unique characteristics which are visible to us at the outset. Subsequently this abstracted ethos changes radically. The Ancient Near East is related to all civilization-clusters neighboring it, but the nexus is different in each case.

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[22] The heavy friction between the Ancient Near East and the Hellenic world eventually rubbed off that part of the latter farthest to the east, thereby producing Byzantine culture. The Byzantine empire, however, carried on unchanged the *Drang nach Osten* initiated by Macedonia and Rome; so the fundamental relationship between East and West continued unaltered.

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Notes and Suggestions

The "Leak" Investigation of 1917

JOHN M. BLUM

THE so-called "leak" investigation of 1917 was a typical case of an unprincipled attempt to invest normal speculative activity with an aura of political indecency. Thomas W. Lawson and William R. Wood were the accusers; Bernard M. Baruch, Joseph P. Tumulty, William G. McAdoo, R. W. Bolling, and others close to Woodrow Wilson were the accused. The charge was that these men had profited in stock market transactions by virtue of inside information of government plans. A protracted congressional investigation served primarily as a sounding board for partisan effusions and empty gossip, and ended with the complete exoneration of the men whose reputations had been defiled.

The background of the incident lay in the European war and its effect on American business and on Wall Street. December of 1916 found the war at a temporary stalemate, with the Germans occupying an advantageous military position. President Wilson had been contemplating a note to both sides to attempt to initiate armistice negotiations. On December 12, the President and the American people were startled by the news of a speech by German Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, which made cautious peace overtures to the Allies. Several days later, Baron Sonnino of Italy commented so as to leave the door for negotiations slightly ajar, and David Lloyd George, who had only recently become British prime minister, in a speech which superficially spurned the German proposal, stated that his government awaited the details of the German offer. All these developments were fully reported in the American press and induced many competent observers to believe that peace was in sight.[1]

On December 18, President Wilson dispatched the peace note on which he had been working. This note, sent to the neutral and belligerent powers of Europe, called for an interchange of views by the warring powers as a preliminary to peace, expressed his willingness to take the initiative therein, and called attention to the intimate interest the United States had in the war, as a neutral whose situation might become intolerable.[2]

[1] New York *Times*, Dec. 12, 13, 19, 20, 1916; Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters*, VI (Garden City, N. Y., 1927), 390 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, VI, 398–400.

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Rumors that President Wilson had sent a note to Europe prevailed on December 18, 19, and 20. On the morning of the twentieth, Secretary Lansing told the newspapermen that he would have an important announcement that afternoon, but requested that this be not divulged until the announcement was made. That afternoon he released Wilson's note. The following day Lansing issued an explanatory statement so poorly phrased that it led some to believe that the United States was close to war with Germany. A second statement dispelled this misapprehension.[3]

The rumors of December 18, 19, and 20, the release of the twentieth, and Lansing's statement of the twenty-first were well reported. The afternoon papers on the twentieth carried the full Wilson note. At 2:05 P.M. the Dow-Jones ticker told Wall Street what was coming.[4] It later developed that Lansing's morning statement was circulated contrary to his wishes.[5] As a matter of fact, informed newspapermen, cognizant of European developments and familiar with the administration's point of view, could have made a fairly accurate guess about what was in the air even before Lansing's morning statement. Indeed, any intelligent newspaper reader could have done this.

To return now to December 12, the day on which von Bethmann-Hollweg's peace feeler became public:

In December of 1916 the United States was enjoying a prosperity born largely of the war material orders being filled for the Western Powers. This boom was reflected in Wall Street by a very bullish market. Experienced Wall Street analysts were somewhat alarmed at what they felt was a dangerously bullish situation.[6] A cessation of war would immediately affect American industry and in the sensitive, over-extended market, could precipitate a bad crash, especially in the so-called "war babies," like steel. Similarly, the entrance of the United States into the war would serve to depress the market because of the uncertainties of such a new position. The Bethmann-Hollweg and Lloyd George speeches, the rumors of Wilson's note, Lansing's release of that note, and Lansing's unfortunate statement implying that the United States was on the verge of war, had precisely that panicking effect.

On December 13, after von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech had been reported, wise speculators began to sell short, especially in steel. The peace note rumors on the eighteenth increased such selling. While the rumors

[3] New York *Times*, Dec. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 1916.
[4] *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1917.
[5] *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 4, 5, 6, 1917.
[6] *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1917.

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persisted the market continued to drop. The twentieth, the day Wilson's note was released to the press, and the twenty-first, especially after Lansing's morning statement was published, saw the peak of the bearish trend. The very next day prices began to rise again.[7] During the bearish period, however, those operators who had been selling short realized immense quick profits. An over-extended market had reacted violently to the diplomatic developments in an uncertain world.

Stocks had hardly recovered before two unscrupulous men, Thomas W. Lawson and William R. Wood, attempted to distort the nature of this market break for their own selfish and partisan ends. Lawson was an ex-speculator turned muckraker, a New England Republican with an insatiable penchant for publicity. Wood was a Republican member from Indiana of the House of Representatives.

Lawson publicized the story that he had information on a peace note "leak" which involved government officials. After interrogating him, Congressman Henry, chairman of the House Rules Committee, described Lawson's story as a "mirage," but Theodore Roosevelt, once again in the Republican fold and a candidate for the 1920 nomination, announced that he intended to force an investigation of the "leak."[8]

In the meantime, Representative Wood had introduced a resolution in the House calling for an investigation to ascertain whether government officials or their families had profited by inside information on the peace note in the market collapse. During the initial debate on the Wood resolution, Congressman William S. Bennett (R., N. Y.), charged that Bernard Baruch, a member of the Council of National Defense and a generous contributor to the Democratic war chest in 1916, had done just that. The House directed the Rules Committee to report in ten days as to whether such an investigation was necessary.[9]

Lawson appeared as a witness before the Rules Committee. He claimed that its chairman, Congressman Henry, had given him his information, but refused to divulge any names. Representative Wood was a less bashful witness. He blatantly accused Joseph P. Tumulty, secretary to the President, of tipping off Baruch at the Biltmore Hotel in New York that the peace note was forthcoming. He charged further that Mrs. Wilson's brother, R. W. Bolling, had profited through inside information. His accusations were based on a letter he introduced from one A. Curtis. Wood could not identify A. Curtis, and, indeed, his mysterious informer remains to this day unidentified.[10]

[7] *Ibid.*, Dec. 14–23, 1916.
[8] *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1916; Jan. 1, 2, 3, 4, 1917.
[9] *Ibid.*, Dec. 23, 1916; Jan. 4, 1917.
[10] *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1917.

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Both Bolling and Tumulty categorically denied Wood's story. Tumulty's denial was fortified by his testimony that he had not known the note was in preparation, a fact attested to by Wilson himself.[11]

While Wood's statement was still ringing in the ears of the public, Lawson let it be known that he would also reveal definite names if a committee of investigation was authorized by Congress. On January 12 the House debated this question. Acrimonious partisanship was rampant. The Republicans accused the Democrats of blocking the investigation to cover members of their party. The Democrats accused the Republicans of deliberately besmirching administration officials for political purposes. The House finally voted to refer the Wood resolution back to the Rules Committee, investing the committee with additional powers of investigation. Eight days later the committee was authorized to employ an attorney to assist in the investigation, and Sherman L. Whipple of Boston, a lawyer of nationally recognized ability, was hired for that job.[12]

Whipple was equal to the task. Before he finished, he interrogated accused, accusers, and leading Wall Street brokers, and he checked the books of leading brokerage firms on sales during the bearish period.

Lawson's appearance as a witness was sensational. His testimony at various times implicated Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo, McAdoo's brother, McAdoo's former law partner, Bernard Baruch, Paul M. Warburg of the Federal Reserve Board, and Joseph P. Tumulty. Lawson testified that one Mrs. Ruth Thomason Visconti had told him with certainty that Tumulty had "received his bit" for divulging information through a newspaperman to interested parties.[13]

Needless to say, all the men involved denied these accusations. Subsequent testimony showed the force of their denials. Baruch told the committee that he was a speculator, that he had sold short during the market break, that he had realized large profits, but that he had no inside information.

Baruch had begun to sell short after the Bethmann-Hollweg speech, sensing that peace overtures would depress the market. He had continued so to do until shortly before the Wilson note was released, but he had begun to cover a day before that release.

It was easily established that he had never met Tumulty at the Biltmore. Furthermore, his books revealed that he had stopped selling short and begun to cover before Wilson's peace note was made public, before the worst break in the market. He had even missed the 2:05 P.M. report on the Dow-Jones

[11] *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 9, 1917.
[12] *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 13, 20, 22, 1917.
[13] *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 16, 17, 1917.

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ticker. In brief, he had covered too soon. Had he had any inside information, he could have increased his profits considerably.[14]

Before Tumulty, Bolling, and the others were completely cleared, the real nature of the "leak" was discovered. Two indiscreet newspapermen, contrary to Lansing's expressed desire, had given information to various brokerage houses about the forthcoming announcement, the nature of which they guessed. No government official had been involved.[15]

In the course of these revelations, Bolling and Tumulty were exonerated by the specific testimony of several witnesses, including the guilty newspapermen.[16] The full iniquity of Lawson's fabrications became painfully apparent when Tumulty's accuser, Mrs. Ruth Thomason Visconti, took the stand. Whether she went to Lawson or whether Lawson summoned her is not clear, but together they made an evil team. Her unreliability was not fully exposed when she testified, but she was forced to admit that her incriminating story, which Lawson had presented as fact, was based on an exaggerated version of a garbled story of a sixteen-year-old girl![17]

Before the investigation drew to its close, leading New York brokers further discredited Lawson and Wood at every turn.[18] Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the market would have broken exactly as it did had there been no "leak." And the "leak," such as it was, emanated from and aided no government official. Baruch, Tumulty, McAdoo, and Bolling were patently guiltless.

The whole affair left a bad taste. One reporter commented that apparently the only sin the Republicans sought to reveal was that Baruch had gambled and won. Henceforth, in his opinion, no contributor to Wilson's campaign fund would be permitted to speculate and profit.[19] Editorial comment noted that malicious and misdirected partisanship had forced Congress to injure its own reputation by assigning a House committee to a task which resulted only in the release of false and scandalous gossip.[20]

The "leak" investigation of 1917 proved three things: that partisan malice had been employed wrongfully to calumniate innocent men, a matter of common disgust; that the President's official family was scrupulously careful to make no private use of government secrets, a matter of common gratification; and that Bernard Baruch was an astute speculator, a matter of common knowledge.

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[14] *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, Feb. 1, 1917.
[15] *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 5, 6, 1917.
[16] *Ibid.*, Feb. 4–10, 1917.
[17] *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1917.
[18] *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1917.
[19] David Lawrence in the Detroit *Free Press*, Jan. 2, 1917.
[20] New York *Times*, Jan. 17, 1917; New York *World*, Jan. 17, 1917.

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Douglas and the Chicago Mob

GRANVILLE D. DAVIS

WHEN the historians of this generation are taken to task for exhausting both their subjects and their readers by the substitution of research for eloquence, they customarily point with an air of futility to those critics who stand forever ready to tear apart any historical account that leans toward the humorous or the picturesque. As a result the anecdote has tended to give way to analysis, and rare is the illustrative story that has long survived the ravages of time and the reviewer. The more surprising it is then that one tale concerning Stephen A. Douglas remains a perennial favorite of the chroniclers of the Civil War period despite the fact that it should have been discarded soon after Parson Weems began to be re-examined.

The story concerns the famous parting words Douglas is reputed to have hurled at a Chicago gathering which, on the evening of September 1, 1854, howled him down as he sought to defend his course in initiating the Kansas-Nebraska Act. With that part of the narrative which explains the events leading up to the Little Giant's exit line no complaint can be offered. The scholarly histories and the contemporaneous reports are in substantial agreement on the circumstances incident to the Chicago meeting.[1]

Upon the close of the session of Congress that had, in May, 1854, passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Douglas made his way back to Illinois, a journey lighted by the burning of his own effigies. Friends had already warned him that he had stirred up a hornet's nest of angry opposition, and that he must check this unfavorable trend before the November elections.[2] For some time before his arrival in Chicago, anti-Nebraska newspapers of the city had been prodding their readers to violence. The *Tribune* and the *Free West* issued warnings that Douglas was preparing to make a clandestine entry and organize a meeting to endorse the opening of Kansas and Nebraska to the slavocrats. Ignoring the fact that Congress did not adjourn until August, the *Tribune* asserted that Douglas had not dared come home immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and added that even after several

[1] Arthur C. Cole, *Era of the Civil War* (Springfield, Ill., 1919), pp. 131–32; Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1908), pp. 258–59; George F. Milton, *Eve of Conflict* (New York, 1941), pp. 175–76; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York, 1947), II, 332–38; Frank E. Stevens, "Life of Stephen A. Douglas," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XVI (1924), 472–73.

[2] Samuel Ashton to Douglas, Chicago, Mar. 18, 1854, and Thomas Hoyne to Douglas, Chicago, Mar. 18, 1854, Douglas MSS., University of Chicago, tell of the burning of Douglas effigies.

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months the people would be "READY FOR HIM."[3] The *Free West* charged that the senator was planning to employ "an armed body of Irishmen, who plied with liquor and armed with clubs, are to beat down, at whatever cost, any demonstration that may be gotten up by the people to express their disapprobation."[4]

Opponents of slavery extension responded to those incendiary appeals in anticipated fashion when Douglas made his first essay at an explanatory address before his Illinois constituency. He had known that he might have trouble for he had written a Springfield friend: "I speak to the people of Chicago on Friday next Sept. 1st on Nebraska. They threaten a mob but I have no fears. All will be right."[5] Yet he could scarcely have been prepared for the reception accorded him by an excited throng of nearly ten thousand. His opening statement, that he had come to explain the Nebraska bill, was enough to call forth a storm of groans and hisses; and from that tempestuous beginning until he retired from the platform he was subjected to a steady stream of boos, catcalls, and shouted questions. His angry cry that he would stay until he was heard was answered by a chorus of "We won't go home till morning, till morning, till morning, till daylight doth appear." For more than two hours Douglas stood his ground, but he finally was forced to give way before the belligerent crowd.[6] What happened at that point Allan Nevins tells in his newly published *Ordeal of the Union:*

> At the end, Douglas was transported with rage. . . . Jamming his hat on his head, his features dark with anger, he shouted: "It is now Sunday morning; I'll go to church, and you may go to hell!"—and shaking his fist at the audience, he strode off the stage.[7]

In accepting this story without comment, the author of *Ordeal of the Union* adds his name to the list of those writers who have shown the same lack of suspicion in examining the incident: Arthur C. Cole, Allen Johnson, George Fort Milton, and Frank E. Stevens.[8]

No such remark by the Little Giant, however, was printed at the time in the Illinois newspapers, all of which gave ample space to this the most exciting event in months. That omission James Madison Cutts, Douglas' father-in-

[3] Chicago *Tribune* clipped in *Illinois State Register,* Aug. 24, 31, 1854.
[4] *Free West,* Aug. 24, 1854.
[5] Douglas to Charles H. Lanphier, Chicago, Aug. 25, 1854, Lanphier MSS., Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.
[6] *Daily Democratic Press,* Sept. 4, 1854; *Free West,* Sept. 7, 1854; Chicago *Times* and Chicago *Tribune* clipped in *Illinois State Register,* Sept. 7, 1854; Chicago *Times* and Detroit *Free Press* clipped in Little Rock, Arkansas, *True Democrat,* Oct. 4, 1854. *Cf.* James W. Sheahan, *Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1860), pp. 271–74.
[7] Nevins, II, 337–338.
[8] Cole, 132; Johnson, 259; Milton, 176; Stevens, 473.

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law, corrected some ten years later when he wrote *A Brief Treatise upon Constitutional and Party Questions*. Cutts professed to use the senator's own language:

> I stood upon the front of the stand in the midst of that confusion from eight o'clock in the evening until a quarter past twelve at night, when I suddenly drew my watch from my pocket and looked at it, in front of the crowd, and in a distinct tone of voice said, at an interval of silence, "It is now Sunday morning—I'll go to church and you may go to Hell!" and I retired amidst the uproar, got into my carriage and rode to my hotel.[9]

Although Cutts is rarely cited, it is actually the *Brief Treatise* to which modern writers refer when they retell the story of the Little Giant's defiance of the Chicago dissidents.

Ample evidence exists to indicate that this is merely another fabrication of the unreliable *Brief Treatise*. In the first place, both the Chicago *Times* and the Detroit *Free Press* state that Douglas gave up the struggle after two hours of tumult and left the stand at half-past ten.[10] A glance at his watch could scarcely have led the speaker to believe that it was after midnight. In the second place, if the watch had shown the hour to be "a quarter past twelve," it still would not have been Sunday morning. The meeting was held on a Friday, not a Saturday, evening.[11] Granted that Douglas must have been angry and excited, there is little reason to feel that he was so upset that he could tell neither the time of day nor the day of the week. In putting the reproachful words into Douglas' mouth, Cutts was compelled to revise the calendar, a revision that historians from Allen Johnson to Allan Nevins have permitted to stand.[12]

It is not without significance that different writers have used the story to suit their assorted purposes. Some who have been rather less than kind in their treatment of Douglas feel that this is an example of the Little Giant's intemperance. Others, on the contrary, in giving a more sympathetic study of Douglas offer the senator's closing sentence as a sample of his unruffled handling of a dangerous situation. Perhaps the present writer can best indicate the point of view he brings to this discussion by saying that he finds

[9] *Op. cit.* (New York, 1866), p. 100.

[10] Chicago *Times* and Detroit *Free Press* clipped in Little Rock, Arkansas, *True Democrat*, Oct. 4, 1854.

[11] Cole in his *Era of the Civil War*, 132, erroneously states that September 1 was a Saturday. Milton in *Eve of Conflict*, 175, quotes the Douglas letter of August 25, 1854 to Lanphier as a preliminary to his account of the mob scene but omits the significant reference to "Friday next Sept. 1st."

[12] It is of course possible that Douglas was a victim both of a slipping memory and Rousseau's *esprit d'escalier* and may actually have given Cutts the "go to hell" version quoted in the *Brief Treatise*.

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most satisfactory James G. Randall's revisionist approach to Douglas' motives.[13] Incidentally Randall manages to discuss the episode in Chicago without quoting Douglas' peroration.[14]

Stephen A. Douglas seems fated to remain one of history's most controversial figures. His intentions in proposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act will always be subjected to careful scrutiny, and his presidential aspirations will be given equally close examination. His biographers will commend or condemn as their bias dictates. Yet on one point there should be a complete harmony of opinion. When Douglas on September 1, 1854, yielded to his hecklers and left the Chicago rostrum after two turbulent hours, he doubtless had things to say that would make entertaining reading. All can be certain, however, that he did not announce that he was going to church. Sunday, September 3 was still twenty-four hours away.

Little Rock Junior College

[13] As a matter of fact the writer first called attention to the doubtful nature of the Douglas "go to hell" speech in a doctoral dissertation prepared under Professor Randall's direction. *See* Davis, "Factional Differences in the Democratic Party in Illinois, 1854–1858," MS. University of Illinois, 1936, would be the proper reference if anyone ever did bother to *see* a doctoral dissertation.

[14] Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), p. 134.

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Reviews of Books

General History

ESSAYS ON FREEDOM AND POWER. By *John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton,* First Baron Acton. Selected, and with an Introduction by *Gertrude Himmelfarb.* Preface by Herman Finer. (Boston: Beacon Press [trade ed.]; Glencoe: Free Press [text and library ed.]. 1948. Pp. lxvi, 452. $5.00.)

THIS new edition of Acton's writings includes the inaugural lecture on the study of history, the two papers on the history of freedom in antiquity and in Christianity, the essays on the Protestant theory of persecution; nationality; political causes of the American Revolution; the background of the French Revolution; the Vatican Council (perhaps the most illuminating of Acton's historical papers); and the Acton-Creighton correspondence. Gertrude Himmelfarb introduces the volume with a well-balanced biographical and critical analysis. A bibliography of Acton's writings is appended.

The experience of the last decades makes Acton's work appear in a different light: on balance, his contribution as a historian seems to be less significant than the moral emphasis which characterizes his work.

Toward the end of his paper on the history of freedom in Christianity Acton says, "In the ages of which I have spoken, the history of freedom was the history of the thing that was not" (p. 83). He adds that only since the Declaration of Independence or rather since the Spanish constitution of 1812 have "the only known forms of liberty, Republics and Constitutional Monarchy . . . made their way over the world." Acton qualifies this statement by his solemn warning that no form of government, no institution guarantees by itself the realization of freedom (pp. 31 f., 130 f.). To him, history is by no means assured progress in freedom, even though his idea of freedom is certainly not too ambitious or too radical. The devout Catholic, who throughout his life fought against any encroachment on individual freedom by the church as well as by the secular authorities, defines liberty primarily in terms of religious freedom and freedom of conscience. He insists that this liberty must be "effectually secured" (p. 15). The lack of such effectual guarantees in the ages which he discusses, and his suspicion of the materialistic content of liberty make his history of freedom little more than a survey of certain phases and aspects of political *thought,* with a strong overemphasis on ideologies and religion, which frequently gives a distorted picture of the actual historical conditions.

But while Acton's historiography hardly appears as an original contribution, his moral philosophy assumes an increasing importance.

In his preface to this edition, Herman Finer remarks that Acton's reputation

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is above all due to his "moral integrity." It is precisely this moral integrity, the consistency with which Acton submits historical processes, persons, and institutions to severe moral standards, which has led to the reproach that he is a moralist rather than a historian, that he offends against the principle of historical objectivity. Here is the point where Acton's work deserves revaluation. He like few historians felt that historical objectivity may imply a bias more deadly to the truth than any moral criticism of history. The bulk of historiography, at least up to the nineteenth century, is written in terms of the predominant historical nations, tendencies, institutions, and personalities. To report the facts objectively thus meant to report them in the light of the great historical forces. The fate of their nameless victims, their suffering and misery, appeared only as incidental, as by-product of the objective course of events. History almost inevitably records only the deeds and consequences of what has acquired power, position, and influence. The objective record is slanted in their favor, illuminated in their light; the rest remains in the shadow. Hegel's terrifying statement that world history is the slaughterbench on which the happiness of the individuals is sacrificed to the progress of reason reveals the hidden implications of historical objectivity.

Acton's entire work is the struggle against the injustice implied in this objectivity. It motivates his hatred and suspicion of all "power," his demand that the true historian should judge and criticize the lords and masters of the earth, the kings and popes and heroes much more severely and uncompromisingly than any ordinary person. He tried to remedy the injustice of historical neutrality by establishing the principle that historical persons and institutions are to be judged according to the greatest historical crime which they have committed: the papacy by the Inquisition, Luther by his writings against the peasants, Calvin by the execution of Servetus:

> The one crime swells out of proportion to the rest. We all agree that Calvin was one of the greatest writers, many think him the best religious teacher in the world. But that one affair of Servetus outweighs the nine folios, and settles, by itself, the reputation he deserves. So with the medieval Inquisition and the Popes that founded it and worked it. That is the breaking point, the article of their system by which they stand or fall [letter to Bishop Creighton, p. 362].

To this reviewer it seems that Acton's insistence on this principle is his greatest contribution, and one of the greatest contributions, to historiography. Its truth-value may become clear when we apply it to our own period. To judge the totalitarian system by its concentration camps, that is, by its most conspicuous crime, is to uncover the deepest layer of the whole system, the structure which holds it together, the essential condition for the efficiency of its political and economic organization. It is indeed the "breaking point," the "article" by which the system stands or falls.

The morality implied in Acton's principle is not an arbitrary one; it has its

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own historical objectivity. History is not written in a vacuum. Acton writes it in the Christian tradition of Western civilization which promoted the ideas of liberty, equality, and justice. It is the ideology by which this civilization explained itself, by which it justified its course, which it claimed as the very content of "progress." In taking this ideology seriously, in applying it to the reality as a moral standard, Acton judges the Christian period according to its own standards. He can thus say that his moral code "supposes nothing and implies nothing but what is universally current and familiar." In this code, murder (no matter who commits it) is the "scientific zero," and the persecution of the weak, the starving of the poor, the terror against those who committed no crime is a crime and should be called by that name. Acton does not mean that his "moral code" should in any way replace or cut short painstaking objective historical analysis but that it should serve as an ever-present corrective against the *ex post facto* justification of successful power which "has made history." Only as a moralist in this sense can the historian preserve objectivity and the dignity of history as a science.

Washington, D. C. HERBERT MARCUSE

DE ZIN DER GESCHIEDENIS: EEN WIJSGEERIGE BESPREKING VAN DEN GANG DER MENSHEID. Eerste Boek, GRONDSLAG; Tweede Boek, GESCHIEDKUNDIGE THEORIEËN; Derde Boek, DEBOUW DER GESCHIEDENIS. By *P. van Schilfgaarde.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1946–47. Pp. viii, 327; viii, 338; viii, 284. 10 guilders each.)

THESE three volumes, which bear the title *The Meaning of History* and an elaborating subtitle *A Philosophical Discussion of the Course of Man,* constitute just one more proof that the question "What is the meaning of our civilization?" calls imperiously for a satisfactory answer. Too much has been taken for granted by our historians; while they have labored with almost ascetic devotion to collect data about institutions, persons, wars, diets, technology, religions, and social customs, they have usually assumed some easily adopted principle governing these things, for which, however, they have not been able to give adequately reasoned grounds. The methods inspired by historical positivism have rendered us well-nigh incapable of seeing the wood for the trees. Of what use are these accumulations of facts about the past—long distant or in the shadow of yesterday—unless we have some adequate way of evaluating them, some principle by which their meaning may be probed?

Such evaluation, however, is an arduous task, as the author wishes to make clear to his readers. The reviewer would like to emphasize the point, however, that its first requisite is a sufficient grounding in the basic philosophical disciplines, logic and metaphysics. To attempt these alone is arduous enough. And the second requisite consists in scientific mastery of the subject matter we usually include under the label of history—language, institutions, thought (especially religion)

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and all expression involved in these phenomena, such as architecture, sculpture, painting, drama, music, literature. To master even a few aspects of these matters is a herculean task. To proceed without some definite conception of philosophical direction, without some consideration of the true nature of man, leads to unsatisfactory results, to a skepticism which robs crabbed historical positivism of any motive to gather more information, and can never lead us into the inner chambers of knowledge. Furthermore, any person essaying to treat the more general and underlying principles of civilization or even to treat a period definitely limited in time and area must clearly present his basic philosophic credentials, not assume some principle uncritically which inevitably degrades the philosophy of history to the level of fiction or of poetry.

In the space of 949 pages the author with great erudition covers the writers of classical antiquity and subsequent ages who have contributed something to the problem of interpreting "the course of man," of handling the subtle problems which encompass his acts. Each chapter is followed by a long collection of notes containing apposite quotations from the authors cited, many of which the most diligent student will have difficulty finding in any but the largest libraries.

The initial volume discusses the question of the nature of the historical narrative and under what conditions historical knowledge is possible. How this narrative differs from biography or romance, how it deals with things not imitated as in the drama, but with things which once happened and cannot happen again, things which are contingent and so ultimately unpredictable because issuing from the free will of man charged by his intellect, how under the magisterial sway of human freedom all nature including the principles which govern its chemistry, its biology, even its metaphysics is appropriated.

Of much practical interest likewise is the second volume which deals with the consequences that flow from various philosophical traditions when applied to the subject of history. One of these, "naturalism," which the author sketches through its long historical descent, "avenges the poverty of its understanding which notes everything but in truth sees nothing significant . . ." Whether in the level of natural science or in that of biology this naturalistic synthesis "must do injustice to the concept of the being man and of history; such a synthesis cannot grasp their actual character." Another tradition referred to is "idealism" or "theological historical science," really unfairly labeled under that heading, for the theology of St. Thomas which has played a mighty role most certainly cannot be put under the heading of "idealism." Here the author takes up the tradition which began in Israel, continued into Christianity, through St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and later writers like Troeltsch and Karl Barth. The treatment of this long and involved theme is all too brief, for the act of an ultimate Being himself uncreated so transcends the world of man as to involve patient inquiries about free will or predeterminism, causality in its various kinds, potency and act, essence and existence, substance and accidents. Besides, there is to be considered the concrete history of

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religion, something quite annoying to more than a few philosophers. But the author hurriedly moves from the Book of Daniel to St. Augustine, Bossuet, Troeltsch, Kierkegaard, and the Barthian school without touching the basic problems of religion (in the West, Christianity) which cry to heaven for solution, without showing the full implications for culture of basic thought like that of St. Paul or St. Augustine. But, the author notes, "fullest development of freedom, the object of human endeavor, that is history, is the realm of religion." The author's statement of religion here made, it would appear, lacks sufficient concrete, that is, theological and historical content to provide the necessary basis for man's march toward his highest happiness.

The third volume is most instructive in that it deals with the "structure of history." It discusses the nature of groups (here called races) and people, the influence of country, language, morality, religion, distinction between population and people and nation and state, the character of social classes, parties, differences between periods and their succession, the continuity of civilization in these periods, and different forces such as tradition and freedom which determine the course of development, fix the character of an age.

The author's immense erudition will be widely appreciated and the text abounds in cogent statements many of which provide excellent quotations. He still seems to linger in the realm of philosophical idealism, as is apparent from his classification of St. Thomas Aquinas under "idealism." As hinted in the first paragraphs of this review, the author does not present a fully elaborated statement of his basic philosophic principles. That he possesses such principles is clear enough, but a full statement would have helped his readers.

University of Washington HENRY S. LUCAS

TRADITIONS OF CIVILITY: EIGHT ESSAYS. By Sir *Ernest Barker*. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. viii, 370. $4.50.)

SIR Ernest Barker deals in these essays with the continuity of ideas, with a thread of thought—perhaps, better, a strand of threads—that runs from Hellenic philosophers, through Alexander, through the Stoics and Thomas Aquinas, through the men of the Renaissance and the Reformation, to the Declaration of Independence and "the rights of man." There is this clear connection between the first essay, on "Greek Influences on English Life and Thought," and the last, "Natural Law and the American Revolution." When he is thinking of Greek political contributions, Sir Ernest has in mind not only the *polis* of Plato and Aristotle but the *cosmopolis* as well, and from this concept, which Alexander sought to establish in actual politics, the Stoics developed the philosophy of natural law, a law common to all men, which is fundamental to Jefferson and to all who came to think of Liberty joined with Equality and Fraternity. Greek history it-

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self he sees as providing a text for modern actors, Greek efforts to solve eternal problems constantly spurring later generations to deal with them with like intelligence. It is the play of Greek notions that he finds in "The Education of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century."

At the heart of the series is a finely articulated paper on "The Connection of the Renaissance and the Reformation." Here, as indeed throughout these studies, while there is nothing new, nor even novel, Sir Ernest's interpretation is broad-based, his grasp many-handled. He sees the Renaissance as at once a revival of antiquity's tradition and the development of an Italian present, a revolution in men's values, yet one that reconciled opposing ways of life, and the Reformation as "a restoration and renaissance of true learning," as well as a revolution. "The Renaissance and the Reformation, acting together and linked together, are both examples—or rather they are a single interconnected example—of that cross-fertilisation which is always the potent cause of new ideas and fresh aspirations."

The essay on "Oliver Cromwell and the English Nation," the only one previously published (1937), is less closely woven in the texture of the whole, perhaps because Cromwell drew at least as much from the Hebrew as from the Greek. In the analysis of Cromwell and his noble failure a man is seen in some ways alien to the English genius yet "the expression of English Non-Conformity" and "its idea of the State based on free association and proceeding by free discussion." So, Cromwell, too, is placed within the framework of the traditions of civility, or civilization.

None of the three other essays is fundamental in the line of thought, although "Cycles of Change in the Island of Rhodes" is concerned with the vitality of the Greek spirit, and the analysis of "Paley and his Political Philosophy" frequently touches on questions of civil liberty. Paley is, perhaps, best connected with the central theme when he is pictured as a man *nihil humani a se alienum putans.* Somewhat apart is the charming "Dante and the Last Voyage of Ulysses," where we see the original Homeric story giving place, through Cicero, Seneca, and Dante, to the endless quest for knowledge that is Tennyson's theme.

The most striking characteristics of these interpretations are their high level of thought, clarity of statement, and closeness of argument. And, despite occasional and trivial evidences of unfamiliarity with the American scene (he calls John Harvard "the principal founder of Harvard College"), it is a pleasure to read an English writer who shows such knowledge of the sources of American colonial history.

New York University ALEXANDER BALTZLY

CONSTITUTIONAL DICTATORSHIP: CRISIS GOVERNMENT IN THE MODERN DEMOCRACIES. By *Clinton L. Rossiter.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 322. $5.00.)

THE classical eighteenth and nineteenth century theories of government were,

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in essence, doctrinal reflections of the legislative state. As long as the demands on government were not too heavy and the pace of institutions, social, economic, and political, rather leisurely, government by legislatures seemed the truest expression of constitutionalism and democracy. The most important single fact in twentieth century political institutions is the relative shift from the legislative to the administrative state. This transformation is not the result of power-hungry men but of new social, economic, and military forces. Wars and depressions, the desire for social security, and newly developing concepts of public responsibility have fundamentally changed the mental climate within which political systems operate. Democracies are designed for a world of peace and normalcy, and they find it, therefore, none too easy to adapt their institutional framework to a world in which the abnormal has become the normal, and in which there is hardly any distinction between peace and war. Mr. Rossiter's study on *Constitutional Dictatorship* is an attempt to show how democratic societies have coped with the strains and stresses of political crises and emergencies. The author shows a very good working knowledge of the literature dealing with crisis government and is also familiar with the original sources and documents. Nevertheless, the book must be considered a failure as far as the appraisal of the basic problems is concerned. In the first place, Mr. Rossiter contributes to more than semantic confusion by identifying dictatorship with strong executive authority. Dictatorship has one basic characteristic: government independently of the governed—regardless whether such government is in the interest of the governed, or whether it would be approved by the governed, if they were asked for their consent. Hitler was a dictator, although eighty per cent of the Germans may have approved of his policies, and Franco is a dictator, although only thirty per cent of Spaniards may approve of him. By contrast, constitutional government consists basically in the fact that the rulers cannot govern independently of the people but have to comply with pre-established procedures. Despite that fundamental distinction, Hitlers and Mussolinis could present themselves to the world as true democrats, while democratic leaders like Roosevelt and Churchill could be decried—even in their own countries—as dictators. It is unfortunate that Mr. Rossiter's book will not contribute anything to keep these fundamental distinctions clear, and will, in fact, have the result of adding to the existing confusion. If we label a democratic government, responding to social or international emergencies with strong and effective measures without violating in any way the spirit or letter of the constitution, as a case of dictatorship (or, "constitutional dictatorship"), we imply that strong and effective government is a monopoly of dictatorships, and that government with the consent of the people freely expressed is naturally more weak and negative than strong and positive.

The fundamentally wrong assumptions of Mr. Rossiter as to the nature of constitutionalism and dictatorship are also reflected in the contents and organization of the book. The author first discusses briefly the Roman experience in the field of dictatorship. The treatment is much too short to be of help, and in any

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case the question may be raised whether ancient Rome had to face problems analogous enough to those of twentieth century democracies. The bulk of the book is then taken up by the four "large modern democracies" (p. 3) of Weimar Germany, the French Republic, Great Britain, and the United States. In the opinion of this reviewer, the inclusion of Weimar Germany is inappropriate in this context, and demonstrates that Mr. Rossiter thinks in formal and juristic rather than in concrete and historical political terms. A good case can be made for studying together the problems of crisis government in countries which, like France, Britain, and the United States, have firmly established democratic systems finding it institutionally difficult to adapt themselves to crises and emergencies. Weimar Germany, on the other hand, did not face the problem of adapting an old and well-established democracy to newly developing executive power but had precisely the opposite problem: how to develop democratic procedures in an environment in which executive authority was firmly embedded in the mainstream of national life and in which government carried on independently of the will of the people was by no means an emergency phenomenon but rather the habitual system.

With regard to Britain in World War II, the author writes, "Never in their history were the British people forced to renounce so many of their liberties and luxuries of a democratic, constitutional society" (p. 133). The statement, exemplifying the fundamental incorrectness of Mr. Rossiter's assumptions, is doubly untenable: in the first place, it is simply not true that the British people were deprived of more democratic liberties in World War II than ever before in their history. Many first-hand observers of wartime Britain were struck by the new democratic vigor permeating the country after the fall of France, a new and stronger spirit of freedom and democracy which had been obscured and stifled by interwar mediocrity and "normalcy." Secondly, Mr. Rossiter says that the British were "forced" to give up liberties during World War II. Whatever was given up for the duration of the war was done with the consent of Parliament—and no country matched wartime Britain in voluntary unity. The British people therefore were "forced" by no one to give up any of their liberties. The reason why they were willing to deprive themselves temporarily of some normal political rights and practices was their realization of the "force" of circumstances, *viz.*, the struggle against a ruthless enemy. But the intelligent and rational response to the force of facts is the mark of freedom and not of subjection.

Despite its inherent weaknesses and lack of historical perspective, there is a good deal of interesting material in Mr. Rossiter's volume which is both useful and stimulating. What Mr. Rossiter needs is more history and less law, and his future work will gain immensely if it will develop in that direction.

Princeton University WILLIAM EBENSTEIN

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THE WEST AT BAY. By *Barbara Ward*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1948. Pp. viii, 288. $3.50.)

THE foreign affairs editor of the London *Economist* examines the problems confronting the western nations of Europe today and concludes that these are not merely temporary dislocations arising from the recent war, which can be alleviated by the Marshall Plan, but are symptoms instead of "a deeper dislocation which will require for its mastering . . . a new way of life." This deeper dislocation Miss Ward attributes to America's rising economic power, the revolt of Asiatic peoples against the old colonialism, and the growth of communism as a world force. The new way of life is to be found in a close political and economic association of the sixteen (Marshall Plan) nations.

She sees the United States as one of the decisive factors in the development of this western association and, in the second part of this book, examines certain fundamental criticisms being directed these days against American policy. Europeans, she writes reassuringly, need fear no discontinuity in our conduct of foreign affairs; isolationism has been rejected by both great political parties. She sees no prospect of any major economic collapse in this country, at least not in the near future; acquits us of charges of economic imperialism and aggressive designs against Russia; and, though somewhat critical of American occupation policies in Germany, finds no basis for allegations that we are fostering reactionary forces in other countries.

In Part III Miss Ward describes the genesis and development of the Marshall Plan and offers a penetrating analysis of its essential features. Part IV is concerned with a detailed discussion of western association and the concrete questions of strategic and economic co-operation. "As an economic unit of considerable internal prosperity" and as "a stable political order on the Atlantic coast," she concludes, western association "would offer at least a promise of solving many of the most tragic and most urgent problems hanging over the Western world today."

This book is a thoughtful, if provocative, one, and few readers will reject endorsement of the economic aspects of western association. It is the political implications which will arouse misgivings. A policy of containment of Russia, even if it be "unhostile," as the author suggests, by its very nature is a negative one. In this reviewer's opinion, the real issue—and one upon which greater stress should be placed—is whether western Europe can fulfill "the promise inherent yet still unrealized within it of creating a free, good, and just society."

Rutgers University SYDNEY H. ZEBEL

Ancient and Medieval History

THUCYDIDES AND THE HISTORY OF HIS AGE. By *G. B. Grundy*. In two volumes. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1948. Pp. xix, 553; xv, 256. 25*s*. each.)

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THE first volume of this work appeared originally in 1911 (see review in *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 1911, p. 319). It brought to the study of Thucydides a long-needed emphasis on the economic factors in his History and a penetrating discussion of the relation between contemporary methods of warfare and the topography of Greece, and it continues to serve as the basic work analyzing and supplementing Thucydides' work and life. The only change of matter in the second edition of this volume occurs on page 40, where half a footnote has been omitted for the sake of consistency with a hypothesis developed in the second volume.

The second volume, now issued for the first time, is the result, in Mr. Grundy's words, of forty years' hard thinking, and in that lies its greatest value. Its conclusions are not drawn on the closely reasoned, thickly documented lines of the first volume but represent rather the convictions of a scholar whose long association with the work of Thucydides has produced an intuitive understanding of the historian. It comprises a series of essays for the most part unconnected, which further develop themes either already elaborated or only suggested in the first volume. In the first two essays humanism, designated as the spirit of Thucydides' time, is traced to its origin in Sicily, where Mr. Grundy sees the Ionian scientific inquiry into nature being transmuted by the rise of democracy into an equally scientific inquiry into human nature and carried back to Greece by Gorgias as humanism. Thucydides' historical purpose and methods are seen to embody certain effects of this new humanism, but evidences from his work for his religious and moral attitudes are found to be indecisive, and these aspects of humanism are then defined with reference to the works of Plato and Aristotle. The third essay comprises a collection of passages from Thucydides' History which characterize his philosophy of life, politics, and various aspects of city and intercity affairs. Mr. Grundy claims not only that humanism is first introduced into the writing of history by Thucydides but also that the generalizations in the speeches represent Thucydides' contributions to political philosophy. The collection suffers, however, from grave omissions. There follows an examination of the evidence provided by the History for the contemporary religion, which is shown to be a vital force not only in the functioning of the state but also in personal action and motivation. The further development of this type of religion in Plato is adduced as evidence.

Mr. Grundy's previous inimitable work as a topographer is augmented by the essay on the topography of Plataea, Pylos, Delium, Syracuse, and other battles. New and strengthened interpretations do much to extend the limits of Thucydides' autopsy, both as a member of the fighting forces and as a researcher. Most welcome is the new view vindicating the historian's description of the Pylian harbor.

The seventh essay is concerned with the development and role of economic classes or political parties in Athens (the two are represented as practically iden-

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tical). Changes in party dominance are explained and motivated, largely without assistance from Thucydides, who appears not to have been party-conscious; and a certain fluidity of policy is introduced by the temporary absence of the urban proletariat on naval expeditions. The parties in Sparta are also examined to illustrate the author's disbelief in Thucydides' real and underlying cause of the war and to show how the disbanding of the Peloponnesian League affected Spartan internal and external policies.

Though separate in aim, the essays employ much overlapping material, and even Mr. Grundy's introductory justification of the long and frequent repetitions can not wholly alleviate the monotony and annoyance which they entail. Aside from the simple repetitions, certain recurrent themes link together various essays; the most insistent of these are: (1) the conviction that Thucydides' failure to complete his History resulted from his discouragement and disillusionment with the Athenian fall from Periclean grace and moderate democracy; (2) the constant reference to the concept of one twenty-seven-year war as Thucydides' "pet theory"; and (3) the laudable insistence on the value of Plato's dialogues for the social history of the early fourth century B.C.

Bryn Mawr College MABEL LANG

THE WESTERN GREEKS: THE HISTORY OF SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE GREEK COLONIES TO 480 B.C. By *T. J. Dunbabin*. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 504. $11.00.)

THE fragmentary nature of the literary sources make it impossible to write a full and connected account of the establishment, development, and influence of the Greek colonies in Sicily and South Italy—the *Magna Graecia* of the ancients. Archaeological evidence, however, especially the immense mass of materials unearthed by Orsi, have yielded much information which can go far in the clarification of many points left obscure by the literary sources. It is precisely in the judicious use of the archaeological material that the merit of the book published by Dunbabin lies.

Mr. Dunbabin begins his book with an account of the establishment of the Greek colonies in Sicily and South Italy. This account should be read together with the discussion on chronology which is found at the end as an appendix, for the chronology of the establishment of these Greek colonies is still a controversial matter. Mr. Dunbabin bases his chronology on the literary tradition, Thucydides and Eusebius in particular, and in this, I think, he takes the most reasonable position. The chronological indications given by the various literary sources, despite some discrepancies, are relatively concordant and coherent and are confirmed to some extent by the archaeological evidence. To be sure there are no archaeological data which fix the exact date of the foundation of any colony, but

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there are enough such data to make it possible to establish the relative antiquity of the various colonies. Thus, on the basis of archaeological evidence it has been shown, for instance, that Cuma was established earlier than Syracuse and Syracuse earlier than Gela, and this agrees with the literary tradition. The only great discrepancy which exists in the literary tradition concerns the foundation of Cuma. According to the chronology given by Eusebius, Cuma was founded in 1051; the other literary sources place the foundation around 750. The date given by Eusebius must be rejected. Dunbabin suggests that it may be due "to faulty transmission or unchronological anecdote," but it is quite possible that the Cuma referred to in Eusebius is the Cuma of Asia Minor and not that of Italy.

The desire for commerce is considered by Dunbabin as the primary motive in the establishment of the colonies in Sicily and Italy, although in the case of some of the Italian colonies he also emphasizes the desire for land. The desire for commerce was no doubt very important, and in the case of the foundation of Cuma probably fundamental, but Mr. Dunbabin, I think, puts too much emphasis on it. Syracuse very early became a commercial center and Corinth derived a great profit from its connections with it, but the fact, known but minimized by Dunbabin, that most of the original colonists came from the upland plain of Corinthia, known as Tenea, seems to indicate that the desire for land was the fundamental motive. The period during which the early Sicilian and Italian colonies were founded was a troubled period in Greece, and this fact was not unrelated to the colonizing effort. To find new lands for the discontented population and thereby ease the social tension at home—these were factors which contributed not a little to the colonial expansion of the Greeks. For instance, the Rhodians who founded the city of Gela left their homeland as a result of civil strife.

The remarks made thus far may give the impression that Dunbabin's book deals primarily with the problems of the establishment of the Greek colonies in Sicily and South Italy. This is, of course, not true. Dunbabin's book is no less than a history of the Sicilian and Italian Greek cities down to 480 B.C.; it covers virtually every aspect of that history and the treatment is as comprehensive as the sources permit. The sources are limited and consequently not much can be said about certain developments, as, for instance, the evolution and precise nature of political institutions. A few allusions to isolated instances of civil strife and some references to the famous lawgivers such as Zaleucos and Charondas who, in the final analysis, are mere names, is all that we have about the internal history of the Sicilian and Italian Greek cities, for this period. Mr. Dunbabin makes his principal contributions in the treatment of the other aspects of the history of these cities—the development of commerce, industry, and art; territorial expansion; the impact of Hellenism upon the native elements and vice versa. Here Mr. Dunbabin makes masterful use of the archaeological evidence. Archaeological material, however, has its limitations and conclusions based entirely upon it cannot be absolutely certain. Thus one may be more hesitant than Mr. Dunbabin seems to be when

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he rejects the statement of Thucydides that Phoenecians had established themselves all round Sicily before the Greeks came on the ground that no archaeological material which might be due to their commerce has been found on the eastern coast of Sicily.

The history of Sicily becomes a connective narrative only from 510, and for the period between this date and 480 the careers of the tyrants of Gela, Hippocrates and Gelon, constitute its central theme. The careers of these two powerful individuals, therefore, form the concluding chapters of Dunbabin's book, but there are also three appendixes. The one to which allusion has already been made deals with the chronology of the establishment of the colonies; the other two are compilations of objects, with bibliographical references, imported from Rhodes, Athens, and other east Greek centers. In addition, there is a genealogical table of the Deinomenids and another of the Emmenids and four chronological tables. The index is neither complete nor analytical, and the bibliography is a select, not a full one. A complete bibliography was made unnecessary by J. Bérard's *Bibliographie topographique des principales cités grecques de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité,* which appeared in 1941.

Mr. Dunbabin has written a most scholarly book. If there are points with which one may disagree, they are points which concern principally matters of emphasis and interpretation, not matters of fact.

Rutgers University PETER CHARANIS

CATALAN DOMINATION OF ATHENS, 1311–1388. By *Kenneth M. Setton.* [The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 50.] (Cambridge: the Academy. 1948. Pp. xv, 323. $7.50, to members of the Academy $6.00.)

To many historians of Frankish Greece, the battle of the Cephisus in 1311, when the Catalan Grand Company defeated the chivalry of Frankish Athens under Gautier de Brienne, practically ended all interest in the lands overrun by the Catalan adventurers; Frankish culture was preserved in Morea, but Athens and the northern states were lost in a barbarian inundation. Exactly the opposite view was maintained by Rubió y Lluch and other Catalan scholars who found the Catalan conquest beneficial to Athens and who saw in it a glorious phase of Spanish imperial expansion. Dr. Setton has sought a middle ground between the extremes of Lampros and Finlay on the one hand and Rubió y Lluch on the other. In a well-written, meticulously documented monograph, he has reappraised the role of the Catalans in Greece, and in the light of the latest evidence has told in detail the story of their conquest and rule in Attica. While expressing great debt to his predecessors in the field, especially Rubió y Lluch and Hopf, Setton has corrected many errors in fact and in interpretation in these earlier works. How exhaustively he has combed both the sources and recent literature is evidenced by the forty-page chapter devoted to bibliography.

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Throughout most of the fourteenth century Catalan speech was current in Athens and Catalan laws and customs were employed in the city of Solon and Cleisthenes. Yet after the Catalans had been driven out by new invaders (Navarrese and Florentine) little remained of their former greatness. As Setton phrases it:

> The Catalans had entered Athens as conquerors in 1311; they were forced to withdraw from the city, conquered in their turn, three quarters of a century later (in 1388). They have left nothing of note behind them to the city of today, except a reputation for cruelty, and made no impress at all upon the culture and language of modern Athenians. The impress has been greater, indeed, of Athens upon Aragon [p. 259].

Dr. Setton's book includes more than its title indicates, for, while the political, institutional, and cultural history of Athens, 1311–1388, takes up most of the book, there is an excellent chapter on the developments after the fall of the Catalans in the years 1388–1456, which gives a very good picture of Athens under the Acciajuoli.

Dr. Setton writes with a humanist's affection for ancient Greece; references to the classics abound throughout the book, and never is the reader able to forget that the states ruled by the Fadriques, Llurias, and Novelles were the ancient homes of Pericles, Thucydides, and Epaminondas. Dr. Setton is at his best in a long chapter on the "Language and Culture, Social Conditions and Athenian Antiquities," in which he lovingly examines the monuments of Athens with Ciriaco of Ancona and other travelers. Numerous illustrations show ancient and medieval monuments very effectively, but the book lacks a good map and genealogical tables which would have been so useful in straightening out the involved relationships mentioned in the text.

Dr. Setton has written a book essentially for scholars and specialists, a notable addition to the monographs of the Mediaeval Academy, and one which, while not destined or intended to be a best seller, will be most gratefully received by students of the crusades, Spain, and Athens.

University of Pennsylvania JOHN L. LAMONTE

STORIA D'INGHILTERRA. Vol. I, I POPOLI DALLE ORIGINI AL 1066. By *Mario M. Rossi.* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1948. Pp. xii, 454. L. 1200.)

FROM the Elizabethans to the Laborites, English men and women, not to mention the more impersonal Foreign Office, have been fascinated by the study of Italy and by the attempt to understand the infinite variety of Italian civilization. Unfortunately, and with a few brilliant exceptions, Italians have not felt inclined to reciprocate this interest nor have they shown a willingness to go beyond the purely political or the contingently partisan. The result has tended to be that for all the Italians' talk (and writing) of the *Inglesi*—their personality, policy, and perfidy—British history and civilization have been a kind of misty terra incognita

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for too many Italians, not excluding those whose business it was to clear other people's minds of the fogs of historical superstitions so thick and misleading where England was concerned. Italian Anglomania and Anglophobia were rooted in the same soil of partisanship and incomprehension. It is because Mario M. Rossi has, with this volume, begun consciously and ably the much-needed attempt to clear some of these fogs that he deserves the highest commendation.

This first volume of what promises to be one of the best histories of England by an Italian scholar who is not a professional historian has so many attractions that it is really difficult to decide which is most worthy of emphasis in a brief review. Both in form and content this volume is of excellent quality. As European books go these days, this is almost a typographical model of perfection—sturdily bound, readably clear, attractively illustrated with maps, diagrams, and vignettes. Its bibliography (pp. 433–43) is up-to-date, exact, and serviceably complete. True, it lacks an index, but judgment must be suspended on this score until the work as a whole is completed. Rossi's volume is scholarly without being heavy, lively without being "popular," factual without being erudite, interpretative without being dogmatic. The specialist and the common reader, the Italian and the non-Italian student alike could profit much from this work.

In thirty-five well-planned and well-written chapters, whose contents unfortunately cannot be detailed here, this volume examines rather exhaustively the making of England from paleolithic to Norman times, analyzes the foundations of British history, and chronicles the vicissitudes of this corner of Europe under Celts, Romans, and varied Germans, to the coming of the Normans. The phrase "this corner of Europe" has been used designedly because, as Rossi intimates in his preface (p. vi) and as he makes clear in the course of his narrative (especially in chapter 17, pp. 153–58), interested Continental interpretations and British misconceptions notwithstanding, Britain was cut historically (the accident of geological separation was of course of rather more remote origin) adrift from Europe only at one moment in Western civilization, during the fifth and sixth centuries —and then when Europe itself hardly knew whither it was drifting. Thereafter—as before, during the Celtic and Roman periods—"Britain" became "England," according to Rossi, but no less European. Thus there was a double line of continuity observable in English history: the continuity or rather consistency (despite innovations of such magnitude as the Norman conquest) of British political, socio-economic, and institutional-psychological developments and, on the other hand, the continuity of her fundamentally European character.

Mario M. Rossi has, with this volume, initiated successfully a much-needed task in Italian scholarship which is also a contribution toward enlightenment. By all indications, his completed work on the history of England ought to prove a boon to Italians and non-Italians who have the good will, capacity, and opportunity to study it and to understand its import.

New York University A. William Salomone

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THE NATIONS IN THE MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITIES. By *Pearl Kibre,* Assistant Professor of History, Hunter College. [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 49.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1948. Pp. xi, 240. $5.00.)

SOME studies of the institution of the nation in medieval universities exist, for example, the excellent account by Professor Gray C. Boyce of the English-German nation in the University of Paris. This book is the first *vue d'ensemble,* and it is thorough and definitive. It is definitive, I should say, on the nations as institutions. But the author so delimits the study that no consideration is given to the role of the members of the nations in intellectual movements. This is wise, for such movements and the men important in them are more properly treated in relation to the university as a whole, or to the proper faculty and the subject matter. The work, then, belongs to institutional history—but not to legal history, for there is scarcely any thought given to the background in the two laws of the legal character of the nations as corporations within corporations, and of the legal position of the officers, such as the *consiliarii.*

As institutional history, however, the work is a model of its kind. Based on all the important sources and on modern studies, it gives a clear picture of the rise and organization of the nations at Bologna and Paris and in the other universities modeled on these two. It fully describes origins, officers, counsellors, meetings, voting (with black and white beans in some places, the majority prevailing), and shows the importance of the nations in the universities and, later, in the conciliar movement. It offers items of information of interest in other fields, *e.g.,* the continued use of wax tablets at Bologna in the fourteenth century, the control at Bologna of the *peciarii,* who in turn supervised the *stationarii,* or publishers and sellers of books. Altogether, Professor Kibre has produced an excellent work that helps complete the picture of the medieval university.

One ambiguity may be pointed out: on page 5 the author seems to imply the existence of nations as a result of the *Authentica Habita* of 1158, while at the outset the author has stated that the nations appeared at Bologna in the early thirteenth century. Otherwise the book is carefully done and is remarkably free of errors.

University of Wisconsin GAINES POST

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN ENGLAND. By Dom *David Knowles,* Fellow of Peterhouse and Professor of Medieval History. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xvi, 348. $8.50.)

The Religious Orders in England is a continuation of an earlier work, *The Monastic Orders in England,* published in 1940, in which Professor Knowles told the story of English monasticism as far as the Lateran Council of 1215. This new book covers the period from 1216 to about 1340, a period less familiar, and, as he

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admits, "less grateful to the monastic historian." It was an age when intellectual leadership was rapidly passing from the cloister to the school and university, when the monastery, although still an integral part of medieval society, was no longer its most vital force. The task, that of writing a clear, synthetic account of English monastic life down to the dissolution, proved more difficult for this period than for the earlier one because, in place of chronicles giving an intimate picture of monastic life, the author was faced with a mass of documentary materials, decrees, visitation records, financial accounts, which did not fit into an ordered pattern. In spite of skillful arrangement the reader is left with this impression of disparity of subject matter.

The book is divided into three parts: the old orders, the friars, and a section called "The Monasteries and Their World." The first part deals with changes in the life of the old orders between the Lateran Council and the Constitutions of Benedict XII, the attempts to bring about disciplinary and administrative reform by capitular legislation, the establishment of a common house of studies at Oxford, and changes in agrarian economy which made of the early fourteenth century the golden age of monastic high farming. Three chapters on the system of visitation give us a valuable analysis of the evidence afforded by visitation records and illustrate the author's critical judgment and that sympathy and experience with monastic problems which is one of his greatest contributions to the subject.

The second section of the book, and perhaps the most interesting, is devoted to the friars. The decision to include the friars as an integral part of the history of the religious orders makes possible a synthesis of that great branch of medieval studies dealing with Franciscan history and thought with research on other phases of monastic life. Professor Knowles gives an eloquent summary of the teaching and influence of Francis and a clear outline of the organization of the Preachers, tracing the evolution of the two orders and their influence upon one another. The discussion of the early English Franciscan Scholastics and of the intellectual life of the schools from Grosseteste to William of Ockham is an important appraisal of the contribution to medieval thought of great friars such as Adam Marsh, Thomas of York, John Pecham, Richard of Middleton, and John Duns.

The last part of the book, "The Monasteries and Their World," includes brief chapters on the cathedral monasteries and monastic boroughs, topics which need further research. Some account of the jurisdiction of cathedral monasteries *sede vacante* might have been added. Other chapters consider the abbot and his household, daily life in the monastery, and the intellectual life of the old orders, stressing the work of Matthew Paris. A rapid survey of the greater English abbeys about the year 1300 concludes this section. Appendixes give lists of the regular bishops throughout the period and print the works and expenses of Henry of Eastry, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury.

Like its predecessor, this volume is an outstanding contribution to scholarship, based upon wide reading of printed sources. It is well written and full of wise

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and critical comment. As a picture of English monastic life in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, however, it is far from complete. Some important topics have been left for consideration in a later volume. We hope that in addition to the academic activity at Oxford and the Carthusians Professor Knowles will bring the nunneries into his synthesis. No doubt he plans to deal in more detail with the relation of monasteries to parish churches and to analyze those financial burdens, including the system of corrodies and pensions, on which deeds of appropriation often throw light.

The picture is also incomplete, because, as Professor Knowles makes clear, there is work yet to be done on the period under review. In his footnotes, which are copious and more complete than the bibliography, he gives a critical evaluation of the work of English, Continental, and some American scholars and calls for additional monographs, more critical editions, and the publication of ecclesiastical materials which are still in manuscript. By so doing he renders an invaluable service to students of English history in the later Middle Ages.

Mount Holyoke College NORMA ADAMS

LES HÔPITAUX EN DROIT CANONIQUE (DU DÉCRET DE GRATIEN À LA SÉCULARISATION DE L'ADMINISTRATION DE L'HÔTEL-DIEU DE PARIS EN 1505). By *Jean Imbert.* [L'Église et l'État au Moyen Âge, VIII.] (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1947. Pp. 334.)

A COMPREHENSIVE and thorough treatment of the historical development of French hospitals in the Middle Ages would be a welcome addition to the literature of public welfare. The book under review, the first of a projected three-volume work which will bring the story down to the present, fulfills the need only in part. It is obviously the product of much study, is heavily documented, and is provided with an adequate, though not exhaustive, bibliography. But, as the title implies, it is primarily interested in the legal aspects of the foundation and management of hospitals.

The work is divided into three parts. The first comprises a brief introduction in which is traced the history of the hospital from antiquity to the twelfth century. In these pages the author is chiefly concerned to establish the position of the hospital as a legal foundation possessing a personality of its own but under the direction of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the second part he discusses the founding of hospitals from the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century and the ends for which they were established. His conclusion is that while more hospitals of this period were founded by lay individuals than by ecclesiastics or religious associations, these hospitals to become public institutions required the authorization of the church. Their chief aim was religious, to minister to the spiritual health of the traveler, the poor, and the sick, and hence they required at least a chaplain and an altar for their proper functioning. The one real excep-

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tion was the leper hospital. Leprosy was early recognized as contagious, and the segregation of the leper was adopted as a public health measure. Civil authority—the town or feudal noble—therefore took the lead in providing for the segregation and care of these unfortunates. While the hospital is treated as primarily a pious foundation, the progressive laicization of control is traced both in the claims of town governments and the growing pressure of the royal authority, which becomes decisive in the sixteenth century. The last part treats of the administration of the hospitals: the position in law of the directors and of the individuals or groups who serviced the institutions, and the sources and character of the revenues for their maintenance. On the last point the author is categorical in his insistence that official public assistance to hospitals was unknown in the Middle Ages. They were founded and supported by private initiative and private charity.

The author has accomplished well the task which he set himself. One could have wished for a broader treatment of the subject, with relatively less emphasis upon legal aspects of the problem and more upon the social contributions of the hospitals to medieval society; but the author can scarcely be criticized for failing to do what he warns us clearly in his introduction he will not attempt. My only query would be whether he has not too greatly emphasized the role of piety in the founding of the hospitals and of the church in their control. There are numerous references in the inventories of departmental and communal archives, especially from southern France, which raise a doubt whether one can safely be as categorical as is the author on these points. Entries which seem to indicate municipal foundation, and others which record town appropriations for the payment of doctors and for the purchase of supplies for the sick and needy, point at least in the direction of tentative public health legislation even prior to the sixteenth century.

Columbia University AUSTIN P. EVANS

L'ART MILITAIRE ET LES ARMÉES AU MOYEN AGE EN EUROPE ET DANS LE PROCHE ORIENT. Two volumes. By *Ferdinand Lot,* Membre de l'Institut, Professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne, Directeur à l'École pratique des Hautes Études. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1946. Pp. 464; 506. 1200 fr.)

THE author's aim, in first instance, is to provide French readers with a book devoted solely to medieval warfare, since previously they have had to use works in other languages or works dealing with French military history and institutions covering more than the Middle Ages. But readers of the *American Historical Review* will want to know how such a book can be useful for them, and this review is concerned with that idea. This suggests comparison with Oman's *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages.* Lot used the first edition of Oman and makes favorable reference to it on several occasions. He ignores the second edition in which Oman carries the subject to the late fifteenth century. In general Oman's

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account is more a discussion of the art of war, while Lot's tends to become a summary of wars and an attempt to show the relationship between the military problems and the political, economic, and social conditions of the medieval period. This latter is a large order and Lot's treatment is suggestive rather than exhaustive. Certain topics, such as grand strategy, fortification and seige craft, gunpowder and cannon, and the Swiss, get considerable attention in Oman, but are treated much more briefly or omitted by Lot. The latter, however, has two chapters on Spain (a topic ignored by Oman) including a long discussion of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) as a cavalry battle like Muret (1213), which is a real contribution to the subject. Lot also has a chapter on medieval Russia, a topic which Delbrück refused to consider on the assumption that the art of war had no influence on the struggle by the Russians to free themselves from the Golden Horde. Part of what Lot offers is a translation and condensation of Prince Golitsyn's description of armies and the military art in Russia from the mid-fourteenth century to Ivan III. We may conclude that, for Americans, Lot supplements but does not supersede Oman.

Although apparently writing under wartime difficulties, which denied him access to some of the books, recent and otherwise, on medieval warfare, one of the very useful features of this book lies in Lot's critical remarks on the literature of the subject. His opinions, favorable or unfavorable, clearly rest upon wide knowledge of the period and expert critical standards in the evaluation of historical sources. Sometimes this means that he has the assurance to prefer an old work of history, even a very old one, to a more recent study. As a helpful guide for less experienced scholars this is important. Some of his remarks about authors, given almost as asides in the footnotes, add a piquancy which the careful reader will appreciate. Military writers inadequately trained in historical method to criticize their sources properly, or not sufficiently sophisticated to avoid reading modern military concepts into medieval situations, are subjected to brief but effective castigation. But Lot also admits to *"une grande tristesse"* in reading the childish and extravagant opinions sometimes offered by laborious savants. In selecting the best scholarly treatment of a particular topic as the basis for his own discussion Lot does not follow it blindly but adds critical comment as he goes along. Sometimes he recognizes that a single, important source is the basis for our information, in which case he presents a translation instead of a paraphrase, such as John of Planocarpini's description of Mongol military customs, or some long passages from the Institutes of Tamerlane.

The subject, however, which absorbs a very considerable part of Lot's attention is that of numbers. Here he is following in the steps of Delbrück and Ramsay, whose work he recognizes. He is himself in a position to summarize the work of scholars whose work is more recent than that of those two pioneers. Perhaps too, Lot's interest is related to his own study of the population of medieval French cities. Such study of military numbers is of course closely connected with any at-

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tempt to estimate the actual military power exercised by medieval rulers. Lengthy consideration of this topic sometimes gives an arithmetical monotony to the text but this is unavoidable in a statistical approach. The figures in most of the sources have long been recognized as fantastic, but not always adequately ignored for that reason by modern authors. Lot repeatedly pays his contemptuous respects to the latter. In an appendix he provides an important guide for anyone planning to study in the archives the size and character of the French armies during the first part of the Hundred Years' War. He also promises to edit and publish some of the important financial records dealing with this subject. Scholars interested in this period will eagerly await such publication.

Williams College RICHARD A. NEWHALL

LA POLITICA DEI BORGIA. By *Gabriele Pepe.* (Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi. 1946. Pp. 317.)

BESIDES their usefulness as symbols of the Renaissance pope and the Renaissance tyrant, the Borgias, Alexander VI and his son Cesare, have a particular significance for Italian historians. Because of the pivotal importance of *The Prince* in their political thinking, Italians, at every crossroads in their history, must weigh again Machiavelli's recommendation of the Borgias as models of political conduct. Today, then, as Italian intellectual life revives and takes a new direction, one would expect some fresh effort to come to grips with the classic problem. And it is natural to find the effort being made by an adherent of the most serious and vital school of historical study left after Fascism, the school of Benedetto Croce. The present study by Gabriele Pepe is both characteristic of that school and altogether worthy of it. With a bare minimum of necessary narrative and a rigorous application of the Crocean categories, Pepe subjects the record of the Borgias to a critical scrutiny, seeking the relationship between their political aims and tactics and the two parallel crises of sixteenth century Italy—the external crisis of the foreign invasions and the internal crisis of the moral failure of the ruling class. His judgment is severe. Neither Alexander nor Cesare, he finds, ever envisioned any end higher than mere personal and family aggrandizement, and for these base ends they were quick to employ the basest means. Their frivolous turbulence hastened the loss of Italian liberty; their shameless corruption poisoned, by its example, the moral sentiments of the society on which it preyed. Of the *animo grande* and exceptional *virtù* acclaimed by Machiavelli, Pepe can discern no trace. Cesare's policies, like Alexander's, appear to him determined by blind, greedy opportunism, "without idealism and therefore basically irrational." Cesare's political techniques, vulgar display masking inner poverty, cringing to the strong and bullying the weak, the big lie and the cynical betrayal, are shown to have been not the essentials of success, but self-limiting and ultimately self-destructive.

This is the Italy of 1945, judging the Rome of 1500. When Pepe remarks

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that governments rotten at the top soon rot at every level, when he touches on the humiliation of honorable men ruled by thugs and swindlers, when he comments on Alexander's dramatic protestations of innocence, *"Sempre istrione!"* (Always the ham actor!) or of cinquecento society, "Not conquered because corrupt, but corrupt because conquered," the bitterness is not all for the Borgias. In no sense, however, is Pepe's study a mere tract for the times. It is carefully written history, based on the best Italian scholarship, classical and recent, and buttressed by researches in the archives of Naples and the Vatican which, if they have uncovered no new facts of importance, have no doubt helped the author to his feeling for his period. In non-Italian history Pepe is weaker; although he has the necessary languages, he does not command the recent literature, and his view of politics beyond the Alps is sometimes hazy or distorted. His work has suffered (as whose has not?) by the fragmentation of Western culture during the past two decades. Even in his use of Italian materials, which he knows well, Pepe shows a Crocean tendency to rely on dialectical analysis rather than on scrupulous criticism of sources as a means of coming at the truth. His use of anti-Borgian writers, particularly the Venetians, is occasionally uncritical (though he seems to be quite aware of the criticisms), and some readers will find that he has heightened unduly the contrast between the treacherous, grasping Borgias and the loyal, statesmanlike Venetians.

But these are minor blemishes. The main critique of Borgian policy, its aims, its methods, and its consequences, is soundly based and entirely convincing. And one would be loath to quarrel with his final dictum. Contrasting the ephemeral Borgian power (the ephemeral Renaissance tyrannies in general) with the persistent Republic of St. Mark, Pepe concludes that a policy of faithlessness (*slealtà*) is the mark, not of a state in process of formation but of one in dissolution, and that "In the end, those are the immortal states whose policies are not habitually in conflict with the moral conscience of their citizens" (p. 222). That is a serious, and in the Crocean sense, a "noble" judgment, and the book in which it is developed is a serious and important book.

Columbia University GARRETT MATTINGLY

Modern European History

FOUNDATIONS OF TUDOR POLICY. By *W. Gordon Zeeveld*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 291. $5.00.)

THIS monograph is an important contribution to our knowledge of the English Renaissance and to the almost simultaneous Henrician Reformation. The author deals at length with the effect of the early Reformation movement on the humanistic groupings of young English scholars, and scholarly aspirants, that

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were settled in Wolsey's new collegiate foundation at Oxford and around the great Pole at Padua. These men, a generation younger than More, Linacre, and Grocyn, were almost precociously gifted, though only Pole, Starkey, and Morison were to attain mature status as scholars or men of affairs. The hope of Christian humanism was lodged in this generation whose easy scholarship, catholicity of learning, and broad tolerance of ideas were exemplified in the career of the young Pole. The English Reformation bore instantly and heavily on the careers and thought of these men with a divisive effect that illumines the spiritual tragedy of these decades. These men, like all other informed and responsible persons, found themselves compelled to take a stand on the issues of the king's divorce. Henry VIII demanded the services of these scholars of his—most of whom had been directly or indirectly subsidized from the royal purse—in his great cause. And Cromwell in the next and critical stage of the Reformation needed them for the herculean task of providing the apologia for what had occurred. The result was the dispersion of English humanism in two extremist groups, the one becoming increasingly more violent in its denunciation of the Henrician Reformation and the other moving rapidly toward a denial of the heretofore basic assumptions of the Christian society.

Professor Zeeveld has examined these developments with great care, with fine discrimination, and with a sympathetic understanding of the plight of scholars in revolutionary times. His exposition of Starkey's thought and of his influence in the formulation of policy in the decisive months is a most impressive contribution to our knowledge of the period. The author here employs an astute and sensitive use of well-known sources to establish Starkey as a far more considerable figure in the history of thought and policy than we have hitherto believed. Starkey was at one stage lending independent and courageous advice to the king and Cromwell, particularly with respect to the use of the monastic properties then being confiscated by the crown.

The author exhibits a most enviable knowledge of the sources and has, as well, mastered the secondary materials. He makes a particularly fruitful use of the State Papers which are made to yield new and important data for the historian of ideas. Professor Zeeveld carries his learning lightly and is to be commended for the easy grace of his literary style. But his work rests squarely upon the sources.

It may be held that the author claims too much for his group of humanists. Surely Saint Germain, Edward Fox, and Gardiner made a larger contribution to the philosophical defense of the Henrician Settlement than did the brilliant Starkey and the adaptable Morison, whose task was the quick defense of the royal policy. Gardiner's work particularly possesses a greatness of scope, learning, and philosophical conception unrivaled before the days of Jewel.

Moreover, the author's interpretation of the Pilgrimage of Grace, which he regards as a popular rising whose demands were stated by the dubious nobles who lent it faltering support, may also be questioned. It is doubtful that Mori-

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son's hastily composed propaganda blasts were directed at the rebels or that social and economic causes should be regarded as so singularly responsible for the rising in the North. The rebellion was complex in its causes; the ill effect of rumor, poor communications, festering feudal resentments, and religious disaffection in this backward region should not be discounted. It can be maintained that the government's masterly propaganda effort was aimed at the home counties, which did not waver, and it must be remembered that the early Tudors sought steadily by statute and policy to remedy the economic abuses that bore heavily on the rural poor in all parts of the realm.

The reviewer would also suggest that Professor Zeeveld pushes too far the connection between Starkey's works and Ponet's *A treatise of politique power,* an exilic writing published two decades later. Starkey was a staunch and important defender of monarchical policy and of monarchy as well. Ponet's work is at bottom revolutionary and can only be regarded as an assault on the very pillars of monarchy. There are interesting similarities of style, of freshness of argument, and of intellectual courage, but hardly a similarity in philosophical point of view. Starkey was and remained a humanist. Ponet was a gifted writer and scholar but he was at the same time, in the perspective of the sixteenth century, a rather dangerous fanatic.

These minor criticisms are concerned wholly with shades of interpretation. Professor Zeeveld has written an extraordinarily good and sound book which will be invaluable to all specialists and which, it is hoped, may appeal to a larger audience.

Radcliffe College, Harvard University W. K. Jordan

JAMES II. By *F. C. Turner.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. 544. $5.00.)

Charles II was wont to say that his brother James, when king, would "lose his kingdoms through his religious zeal and his soul through his unsightly wantons." The fulfillment of this prophecy forms the plot of Mr. Turner's *James II,* a full-dress, life-and-times biography. He demonstrates conclusively how James's preoccupation with Romanizing England—in law, politics, and religion—cost him the three kingdoms; and though Mr. Turner is only incidentally concerned with James's amorous adventures, he indicates that the "conflict between his spiritual aspirations and his carnal desires" kept the king constantly off balance. Saintliness was claimed for James by his Jesuit henchmen and by his queen, Mary Beatrice, who came to call her husband "our holy king"; but about this "halo of sainthood," Mr. Turner, "as one brought up in the Protestant tradition . . . can only say that these things are a mystery."

Ascertained and authenticated facts, not conjectures, about James's character, his deeds, and his motives are what make this book a worth-while addition to

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Stuart historiography. So obvious a person, so stupid and dull a man as James, required a patient and long-suffering biographer. Laboriously, Mr. Turner has searched for and found, and then validated the evidence for his version of James's career, and his work is an admirable exemplification of the evidential method. False scents and deliberate fabrications, left behind to beguile James's friends, to confound his enemies, and to bewilder historians, made Mr. Turner's task peculiarly trying. James, like his father, was a dissimulator, and Mr. Turner carefully distinguishes what the king wished Louis XIV, or William of Orange, or his English subjects to believe from what James himself really thought or intended. He also applies skepticism and "great caution" to the voluminous correspondence of the diplomats and statesmen before he uses their data as proof of what actually happened.

As a result of his assiduity, Mr. Turner's history is noteworthy for sound and somber scholarship more than for histrionics. Drama, a tragicomedy, is there, but it is implicit, and though the narrative gains pace after James finally ascends the throne (on p. 233), the dramatic climaxes and the artistic unity devised by Macaulay are sacrificed for scholarly precision. Many a time Mr. Turner indicates how Macaulay, enjoying literary license, accommodated the evidence to his Whiggish predilections. Here, James is made into neither hero nor villain for purposes of dramatic structure. After all, he was hardly a man of parts sufficient to sustain a 500-page narrative in the heroic style (his ideas were so trite), and Mr. Turner has accomplished feat enough in imbuing so stolid a subject with life. Considerable excision (especially in James's career as heir presumptive) and tighter sentences and paragraphs might have sharpened the focus and enhanced the book's artistry and liveliness. However, by expounding at length, without condoning or condemning, James's blunders and misdeeds, he shows how, paradoxically, they had beneficent consequences for England's polity.

The psychology of politics—why statesmen acted as they did and why their maneuvers succeeded or failed—fascinates Mr. Turner. An actualist, he treats of politics empirically, much to his history's advantage. A healthy realism, a deep "historical perspective" (notably in treating Monmouth's Rebellion), and an objective but not unsympathetic attitude toward men and their motives govern his judgments of James and his fellow politicians. Mr. Turner's sympathies lie with men of common sense, like Charles II, men of reason, like Halifax, and men of intellect, like Sunderland despite his amoral use of it; he is just, but antipathetic toward bigots and bullies, like Jeffreys, and toward romanticists, like James himself, infatuated with Romanism and blessed with only the country gentleman's "low-standard" of mentality. But James is credited with virtues, for he exhibited, with considerable constancy, physical bravery, religious sincerity, and an irrational loyalty first to the king, his brother, then to his grandfather's ideal of a divine and "free monarchy." The cool, factual appraisal of James's intentions and the balanced estimates of the Catholic conspirators recapture the history of his reign

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from the warped Whig-Liberal tradition, but at the same time Mr. Turner's *James II* preserves the true significance to liberal democracy of the Glorious Revolution.

Yale University WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

LA CULTURE ET LA CIVILISATION BRITANNIQUES DEVANT L'OPINION FRANÇAISE DE LA PAIX D'UTRECHT AUX *LETTRES PHILOSOPHIQUES* (1713–1734). By *Gabriel Bonno,* Professor of French Literature, University of California. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 38, Part 1.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1948. Pp. 184. Cloth $3.50, paper $2.50.)

IN 1930, Georges Ascoli published a two-volume work, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVII^e siècle.* The year following, Professor Bonno brought out an extensive study entitled, *La constitution britannique devant l'opinion française de Montesquieu à Bonaparte.* The present book, similar in approach as in title, deals in thoroughgoing fashion with the approximately two decades which fall roughly between these previous works of Ascoli and of Mr. Bonno himself.

After the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 which ended nearly a quarter century of war and comparative isolationism between England and France, there soon became manifest an upsurgence of French interest in the strange and almost unknown country across the Channel. Here, therefore, was a natural beginning for Mr. Bonno's study. The terminating point is the publication in France of Voltaire's provocative *Lettres philosophiques* twenty-one years later in the middle of April, 1734.

Voltaire, in the eyes of many people, as in his own, long passed for having practically discovered English thought and literature and then revealed them for the first time to his astonished countrymen. Gustave Lanson and other scholars have painted a truer picture in recent years. Now Mr. Bonno, after exploring the dusty periodicals, manuscripts, and books of the Old Regime, has given us detailed chapter and verse on just what was known, and not known, about England in France before Voltaire's fruitful exile. The author of the *Philosophical,* often called the *English, Letters,* did not so much add to the sum total of French acquaintance with England, observes Mr. Bonno (p. 167); rather he succeeded in spreading this knowledge much more widely among a public already prepared to devour eagerly his crisp, ironic, or amusing sentences in a work which an inept French government further advertised by ordering it officially and publicly burned.

For one who wishes a thorough picture of English character, customs, philosophy, religion, government, science, and literature, as seen by French eyes during these two decades of the early eighteenth century, this is the book to fulfill his needs. We might quarrel with an occasional slight detail. The general reader, because of the book's very completeness, is likely to find the going at

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times heavy, but the total view is certainly sound. Mr. Bonno's work fills an important gap and fills it well.

We can hardly avoid, however, a mild regret that the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia has preserved here the cumbersome double-column format of the famous *Transactions*. How much more convenient for the reader and for his library shelves the work would have been in normal book form! Who can doubt that Benjamin Franklin, that always forward-looking man who founded this great society back in 1743, would have heartily approved such a change today?

Ohio State University GEORGE R. HAVENS

THE BRITISH POST OFFICE: A HISTORY. By *Howard Robinson*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 467. $7.50.)

DESPITE its great importance as a factor in modern economic and cultural development, the postal service has not received careful attention from historians. The writing of its history has been left largely to postal officials and amateurs. We still lack a comprehensive and scholarly history of the postal service of the United States. That void for Great Britain, however, is satisfactorily filled by the title under review.

Robinson's volume not only builds upon the earlier treatments by Joyce (*History of the British Post Office . . . to 1836*) and Hemmeon (*History of the British Post Office*), published in 1893 and 1912 respectively, but goes behind them to reinforce, correct, or supplement with additional materials and surer workmanship the foundations they laid. The author's treatment of the great reforms and amazing expansion of the nineteenth century post office has a balance and perspective that could hardly be expected in the earlier works. In addition, the story is brought to the eve of the Second World War. Finally, the whole is the work of a mature and conscientious scholar, familiar through long study with the social and political background of which his story is a part. The result is a richer volume, with illustrative material drawn from sources that would not have occurred to his predecessors.

Three criticisms seem in order. The first is with regard to proportion. The earlier chapters are, to this reviewer, too detailed and slow-moving. Shortening the first third of the volume could have sharpened both the reader's impressions and pleasure. The concluding chapters, on the other hand, cover important developments too rapidly and leave the impression of haste in preparation. The time has come when meticulous tracing of beginnings is a professional indulgence that must be held in check if the historian is to have room to do justice to the recent past. Second, although the author has ranged far and wide for printed sources and levied upon them expertly, there has been no use of the unprinted archives of the department. The reviewer does not believe this is as serious as it sounds, but it must be mentioned. The "inside job," so to speak, is still to be done if any-

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one is ever so bold. Third, the title of the book, strictly speaking, should have been "The History of the British Postal Service" rather than "The British Post Office." Dr. Robinson in a few pages covers all too briefly the taking over of the telegraph and, later, the telephone systems, and goes into the story of their operation hardly at all, yet these matters would unquestionably be of special interest to American readers. The important social services, wholly unrelated to communication, that are performed by the British Post Office receive even less attention, some of them being mentioned only in footnotes. The title would seem to call for the treatment of all functions of the office in proper proportion. If, however, the author had clearly stated in his preface his obvious intention to slight non-postal operations, this criticism would not be necessary.

The space taken for these criticisms would be unfortunate if a negative impression is given. They are intended partly as an exposition of scope and emphasis. The work is likely to stand for a long time and may never be surpassed. The documentation is full and expertly handled. It is amusing to read (p. 352) that "obscure" material is unmailable in the United States, but such inspirations of the proofreaders are few. The design, typography, and especially the illustrations and maps in this volume deserve special commendation.

Washington, D. C. OLIVER W. HOLMES

CHATHAM AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By Sir *Charles Grant Robertson.* [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xiii, 200. $2.00.)

BOTHA, SMUTS, AND SOUTH AFRICA. By *Basil Williams.* [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xi, 216. $2.00.)

COOK AND THE OPENING OF THE PACIFIC. By *James A. Williamson.* [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xii, 251. $2.00.)

DIVERSE in intellect and achievements, the four men whose careers are traced in these little books have greatness in common. Great in their mental endowments, courage, and resourcefulness, they are also great in character and in those indefinable human qualities which make men outstanding personalities. The work of all is intimately connected with the history of the British empire. The sailor and the statesman of the eighteenth century assisted in its rise, the Boer generals and statesmen helped to fulfill its historical destiny.

Among the various devices employed to present history in small packages, that of linking the story of the larger whole with the work of outstanding individuals is perhaps the most successful. Though the history of nations includes more than the sagas of its great men, a careful delineation of the fortunes and services of the leaders makes intelligible the annals of nations. Of the three books under review,

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those on Chatham and Cook are conspicuously successful in this respect. The unique genius of the greatest of the Pitts is well portrayed against a background of stirring events in a period when England, despite the ineptitude of her rulers and the occasional waywardness of her people, was strong in the human resources of fortitude and endurance. Cook belongs to the same great period. He worked on a humbler plane than the statesman, but his achievements were equally great and more enduring. His story is told both in the context of the thrilling tales of the exploration of southern latitudes and in that of the founding of British claims to the lands now occupied by the British nations of the southern hemisphere. In this story Captain James Cook, the greatest sailor of a nation of seamen, stands forth as a unique leader, strong, intrepid, selfless, wise, and tender.

Professor Williams is less successful with the Boer generals. They are so close to us that the perspective is somewhat blurred. It also seems that the author is handicapped by his own share in events which he relates. His account is marred also by slips and careless proofreading. Natal was not annexed in 1845 nor did Canada obtain self-government that year (pp. 4, 8). The general election wherein Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman led the Liberals to victory was fought in 1906 not in 1905 (p. 54) and Dutch not the "Taal" (p. 68) was established an official language by the constitution of the Union of South Africa. Exceptions will be taken to the use of "diabolical" (p. 75) as descriptive of Gandhi's cleverness, and the optimism voiced in the discussion of South African affairs in the closing years of World War II has been proved misplaced. Nevertheless Professor Williamson has presented a good picture of South African problems and he assesses correctly the work of Botha and Smuts, the greatest sons of Afrikander South Africa, which soon may be destroyed by small, blind, and spiteful men.

University of Wisconsin PAUL KNAPLUND

LOUIS XIV AND THE GREATNESS OF FRANCE. By *Maurice Ashley*. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. ix, 263. $2.00.)

JOAN OF ARC AND THE RECOVERY OF FRANCE. By *Alice Buchan*. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. x, 264. $2.00.)

CLEMENCEAU AND THE THIRD REPUBLIC. By *J. Hampden Jackson*. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xiii, 266. $2.00.)

THESE volumes are part of a series entitled the "Teach Yourself History Library." According to the editor, Mr. A. L. Rowse, they are designed "by way of a biography of a great man to open up a significant historical theme." An exponent of the biographical approach to history the editor plans through the series "to bring the university into the homes of the people." This is a worthy

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objective, and while the reviewer might question the "great-man" approach, he admits that good biographies may stimulate interest in history.

To achieve this praiseworthy aim, however, these books should be written by scholars who not only know their subjects, but who also are skillful narrators with quick-paced literary styles. The writers of the volumes mentioned above are sound scholars and have written readable and useful books. But the reviewer does not believe that they will bring about a mass conversion. Miss Buchan, for example, in her biography of Joan of Arc gives us a clear, common-sense portrait of her heroine and shows how the peasant girl of Lorraine was an important factor in the recovery of France from the invader. But she fails to make her story as dramatic as it might be by devoting a long and rather dull chapter to the British occupation of France before she introduces Joan of Arc. Mr. Ashley does not make that mistake. In his first chapter he discusses the minority of Louis XIV and then develops his major theme, "Louis XIV and the greatness of France." The book is well organized, but in the opinion of the reviewer, the author should have devoted more space to economic and cultural aspects of the "Golden Age."

Mr. Jackson's volume, *Clemenceau and the Third Republic,* may prove to be one of the most popular books of the series. The author not only knows his subject but he also can write and possesses interpretative ability. He gives the reader a convincing picture of Clemenceau and shows how the tiger symbolized significant aspects of modern France. This is the kind of biography that may enjoy considerable popularity. At least it will be read with interest and profit. Each volume contains a "Short Bibliography" and an adequate index.

University of California FRANKLIN C. PALM

THE UN-MARXIAN SOCIALIST: A STUDY OF PROUDHON. By *Henri de Lubac,* S.J. Translated by *R. E. Scantlebury.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1948. Pp. xvi, 304. $3.50.)

DURING the first half of the nineteenth century there took place in France an extraordinary effervescence of social and political theorizing. Almost every shade of thought, from the reactionary De Maistre to the socialist Saint-Simon, had its "school" of devoted adherents. Among the writers of the period was the enigmatic Pierre Joseph Proudhon, the so-called father of anarchism. In his own day Proudhon had no "school" and his views exercised little influence. After his death, however, Proudhon was acclaimed a major prophet of revolutionary thought and his views became widespread in radical circles throughout Europe.

The book under review, despite its title, is devoted to a study chiefly of Proudhon's religious, and not of his political and social, views. All his life the revolutionist Proudhon was haunted by the religious problem, and he wrote voluminously on religion in its many aspects. "A theologian from without the pale" the Bible more than any other book inspired and molded his radical social theories. Early

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in his life he left the Catholic church and became a violent and uncompromising anticlerical. Father De Lubac has made an exhaustive study of Proudhon's writings, and presents his anti-Catholic views fully, fairly, and even with a detached kind of sympathy. His interpretation of Proudhon's anti-Catholicism is original, illuminating, and provocative.

What was the nature of Proudhon's hostility to the church? It was not at all the familiar Voltairean pattern of irreverent scoffing at Catholic doctrines and practices. There was a "religious accent" to Proudhon's diatribes against the church that arose, according to the author, from "a love, a nostalgia, and heaven knows what disappointed hopes." And the vehemence of the attacks was due more to Proudhon's "heavy honesty" than to his positive views, which were fundamentally moderate. Here indeed is French anticlericalism in a "new look."

The following is Father De Lubac's interpretation of Proudhon's religious views. The great universal movement toward equality was initiated, according to Proudhon, by the Gospel when it declared all men equal before God. This first and greatest of all revolutions has since inspired every egalitarian movement in history. In modern times the struggle for equality has been continued by *la Révolution,* the universal movement toward political and economic equality. *La Révolution* was to Christianity what the New Testament was to the Old. But what elements in the political and social order of Proudhon's day received the blessing and support of the church? The reactionaries of the Restoration and the capitalists of the Bourgeois Monarchy, both deadly enemies of equality as formulated by *la Révolution*. Property was then sanctified by the church, who taught the poor that their suffering was part of the divine plan. The "old underlying Catholic strain" in Proudhon, according to Father De Lubac, caused him to denounce bitterly what he regarded as a betrayal by the church of her Gospel heritage. It is the author's conviction that Proudhon "very consciously labels himself by the best part of his thought a follower of a Christian tradition."

Was then Proudhon at heart a Catholic, *malgré lui?* He denounced and ridiculed all the religious opponents of the church: Protestants, Gallicans, deists, and atheists. He criticized Renan as a renegade who insulted God. He justified the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes because it promoted French unity. He supported the papacy in its opposition to Italian nationalism. He upheld the sanctity of marriage and opposed divorce. His vision of a perfect society was one of "joyous poverty," therefore he opposed the materialism of the socialists. Proudhon barked at the church and bit her enemies.

Father De Lubac's book on Proudhon will take a prominent place in the reevaluation of the revolutionary thinkers of the nineteenth century that is surely coming. The English of the translation is awkward at best. What the original French is like the reviewer, not having seen it, does not know.

City College of New York J. Salwyn Schapiro

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TALLEYRAND: A VIVID BIOGRAPHY OF THE AMORAL, UNSCRUPULOUS, AND FASCINATING FRENCH STATESMAN. By *Louis Madelin,* of the Académie Française. Translated by *Rosalie Feltenstein.* (New York: Roy Publishers. 1948. Pp. 320. $3.50.)

A LIFE of Talleyrand by Louis Madelin could hardly fail to be lively, provocative, and unsympathetic. Madelin's long admiration for Napoleon, already evident in *Le Consulat et l'Empire* (1932), makes him a severe judge of the man who conspired against his master. The present study is a portrait, etched with antiseptic distaste, of a diplomat disfigured by all the vices. Talleyrand's one virtue was intelligence; his one creditable act was to help Bonaparte plan the coup d'état of Brumaire. "Talleyrand was really admirable during those great days" (p. 72).

The pride, selfishness, ingratitude, and venality of Talleyrand's character have fascinated many analysts before and since Lacour-Gayet prepared his exhaustive three-volume study twenty years ago. Madelin adds nothing new to the previous documentation and offers no profound rationalizations to account for Talleyrand's villainies. The explanation he favors appears to be innate depravity—"Let us admit that through some atavistic tie the child was born immoral . . ." (p. 15). French readers, for whom the book was written, would catch allusions and fill in the general background, but it is to be feared that most Americans will find the characters and the actions somewhat unintegrated and two-dimensional. Yet the scandalous episodes, lively dialogue, and sustained pace of the writing provide their own entertainment, and the biography should find its quota of popular readers.

The English translation is conscientious but does less than justice to Madelin's acid prose. The irony and sometimes the meaning are muted, as when Frénilly's gibe at the stupid Madame Grand (*la belle et la bête*) is translated "beauty and the beast" (p. 68). In the phrase "play a monk's role" the noun should be Monck (p. 110); "unsworn priests" would be more recognizable as nonjuring clergy (p. 91); La Revellière-Lepaux should read La Revellière-Lepeaux (p. 53), Boulay de Meurthe, Boulay de la Meurthe (p. 109), and Gand, Ghent (p. 245). There are no maps, pictures, footnotes, or bibliography, but a useful appendix identifies the leading persons, families, and historical events, and the index is complete and accurate.

Columbia University GEOFFREY BRUUN

ENGLAND AND NAPOLEON III: A STUDY OF THE RISE OF A UTOPIAN DICTATOR. By *Franklin Charles Palm,* Professor of Modern European History, University of California. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 183. $2.50.)

PROFESSOR Palm tells us that this monograph is only ". . . the beginning of a study . . . of the rise and fall of the Second Empire. . . . a documentary film

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revealing the interplay of forces, commercial, ideological and sociological which affected two important powers" (p. xi). His intention is to present something more than a mere diplomatic history, something less than a full-dress account of the Second Empire. The present volume is evidence of the author's painstaking study of English and French documentary evidence, but it also reveals the fact that preceding scholars, apparently, had already uncovered most of the material necessary for an understanding of the Second Empire. Whether the succeeding volumes of Professor Palm's study will produce new and significant evidence cannot be predicted.

This study, in spite of the careful work of the author, dramatically illustrates a problem that plagues students in every field of inquiry: namely, the limitations imposed by the author's postulates. Professor Palm has two preconceptions which he does not test, but assumes to be true. These two postulates at one point after another limit his view and constrict his narrative. The first is that it was the opinion of that loosely organized group known as the "middle classes" that played the decisive role in the history of the empire. Professor Case's studies, to cite only one writer, would necessitate a modification of this point of view. The second, and in the reviewer's opinion an almost completely untenable postulate, is that somehow Louis Napoleon guided his policy to satisfy the middle classes of England as well as those of France. These two postulates lead to curious conclusions and important oversights. Clearly Professor Palm did not mean it so, but one gets the impression time and again that Napoleon III acted as if he were responsible to the British Parliament, or even to one or two organs of English middle-class opinion. It is surely not proved that the successes and failures in the political life of mid-nineteenth century France can be ascribed to the approval or disapproval of English publicists and statesmen, and it is unfortunate that these postulates have marred an otherwise useful account of Anglo-French relations at the time when Louis Napoleon came to power.

The reviewer hopes that in the succeeding volumes Professor Palm will broaden the horizon of his study. He is at his best when dealing with Franco-English relations; his story of the northern courts lacks the interest that he brings to England. But on the canvas that he is painting, all of those relations would be more meaningful if he would highlight the French domestic problems a little more clearly.

University of Minnesota JOHN B. WOLF

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871–1914). 1re Série (1871–1900), Tome X (21 août 1892–31 décembre 1893). 2e Série (1901–1911), Tome IX, 1re partie (16 janvier–1er mars 1906). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1945, 1946. Pp. xl, 741; li, 446.)

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THE first of these two volumes, marking a welcome continuation of the two series interrupted by the war, contains much interesting material on a wide variety of subjects. The Franco-Russian Alliance was known from the *Livre Jaune* on it published in 1918. But we now learn some further details on the negotiations, one of them being that the long delay in approving the Military Convention was partly caused by the sulkiness of Baron Mohrenheim, the Russian ambassador in Paris, who felt insulted because Paris newspapers insinuated that he was involved in the Panama scandals. The tsar thought Mohrenheim's personal attitude "ridiculous" (p. 388), but because of Russian prestige did not like to recall him. He finally sought to smooth the ambassador's ruffled feelings by having him make the first announcement of the famous visit of the Russian fleet to Toulon.

A great many of the documents of the sixteen months from August 21, 1892, to December 31, 1893, deal with friction between France and England. Lord Dufferin, the British ambassador in Paris, was also riled by remarks of the Paris press. The British occupation of Egypt continued to be a constant thorn in the side of the French. They continually tried to revive negotiations for the withdrawal of the British and pulled every possible wire to prevent the khedive from accepting Queen Victoria's invitation to visit England. Boundary disputes along the Mekong River and a Siamese destruction of a French vessel, resulting in a French ultimatum to and blockade of Siam, led to long negotiations with Lord Rosebery and the proposal for establishing a neutral area or buffer state in the disputed area. In Uganda French missionaries complained of their treatment by the British. In the Lake Chad area a French agent, Mizon, sold arms, contrary to agreement, to a native chief and intrigued on territory claimed by the British, while the British and Germans made a secret convention concerning territory claimed by the French. There was some friction over Morocco, but here the chief trouble was with the Spanish and their use of troops against the Riff.

Franco-Italian irritation flamed up suddenly over the fight between French and Italian workers at Aigues Mortes, but was quickly settled by the suspension of the mayor of the town and the payment of compensation for the seven Italians killed. With Germany, partly thanks to the skill and wisdom of M. Herbette, relations remained correct and fairly cordial, in spite of the emperor's speeches and the increase of the German army, the details of which the French carefully laid before the Russians in order to hasten the approval of the Franco-Russian Military Convention. There are also interesting dispatches on rivalries in Abyssinia and Menelek's protest against the Treaty of Ucciali, on Austro-Serbian friction, and on the general irritation caused by Stambulov and Ferdinand of Bulgaria. The able reports from Paul Cambon in Constantinople and from Barrère in Munich foreshadow their later distinguished careers in London and Rome.

The other volume, covering less than three months, deals mainly with the first half of the Algeciras Conference. It illustrates in great detail the skill of the French in playing a waiting game, and the clumsiness of the Germans in fre-

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quently altering their position and trying to get backing from other countries. But the volume hardly adds as much new material as the one for 1892–93, because the German and British documentary publications and many other books have already thrown so much light on the critical Algeciras negotiations.

As usual, the French editors prefix an admirable "Table méthodique" which makes it easy to find the documents on any important topic and yet preserves their desirable arrangement in a strictly chronological order.

Harvard University SIDNEY B. FAY

MES MÉMOIRES. By *Joseph Caillaux*. Volume I, MA JEUNESSE ORGUEILLEUSE, 1863–1909. Volume II, MES AUDACES—AGADIR . . ., 1909–1912. Volume III, CLAIRVOYANCE ET FORCE D'ÂME DANS LES ÉPREUVES, 1912–1930. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1942, 1943, 1947. Pp. 306, 260, 398.)

THESE memoirs will not take their place among books of great literary significance, but they are none the less valuable to the historian. One does not expect memoirs to be objective. Throughout there is an ardent sincerity—perhaps too much of it. He is too earnest and shows no sense of humor. He is fighting for his life, so to speak.

The author takes about seven hundred pages to cover the period of his public life from 1898 to 1920 and only thirty-five pages for the succeeding twenty years. This means that he reviews in some detail the parts of his career about which he had previously written and leaves almost untouched the years for which we had wanted information from him. What he does do is to review his political career a little less heatedly than he told it in *Mes Prisons, Ma Doctrine, Agadir,* or *Où va la France? Où va l'Europe?,* and somewhat more completely.

M. Caillaux is interested primarily in demonstrating again the correctness of his actions and the soundness of his policies of the period between 1911 and 1920. To do this became an obsession with him. Many people of prominence have accepted his explanations; his electorate put him back into office as a senator in 1927; he was offered a place in more than one government after his amnesty in 1924; and yet, he felt that a curse remained upon him. Thus, the memoirs.

His principal theme is an explanation of his policies on the income tax, on party matters, on the outbreak of war in 1914, and on relations with Great Britain and Germany. Very important to him are the relations with other men in public life, especially M. Poincaré, M. Clemenceau, and M. Briand. On the progressive income tax he was ahead of his time, bringing French taxation out of its medieval quality, and giving it the best modern form. For a rich man he acted out of character in launching this liberal reform. The inspiration came from his father, to whom he devotes a chapter. M. Caillaux was jealous of his reputation as a ranking public servant in financial matters—and rightly so, for the re-

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viewer has never found an attack upon him for indiscretions with public funds although he was subject to vilification on almost every other possible ground.

Joseph Caillaux was a citizen of France and of Europe. He had a twenty-year fight with the group which stressed a strong policy against Germany and a tightening alliance with Great Britain. He settled in what we think to be a reasonable fashion the 1911 Moroccan crisis with Germany in the face of the Poincaré-Clemenceau-Barthou group at home and Kiderlen-Waechter across the Rhine. He consistently thought in terms of European conciliation as did M. Briand after 1924. He tried to handle international diplomacy as a businessman might work out an agreement. This, of course, was fatal. The great press was against him in Paris, London, and New York during all the period when nationalism ran high. We in America of 1949 can appreciate the way in which investigating committees of our own legislative bodies can make life miserable for a man who has not conformed to majority modes of thinking.

In 1913 the Pau Congress made M. Caillaux president of the combined Radical and Socialistic Radical party. The fight was hot between this middle-left group and the National Bloc which wanted military preparedness and—as M. Caillaux said—a divided Europe. The Radicals tried to avert the war; when they lost, they sought every means from the first battle of the Marne until 1918 to stop it by negotiation. To unify the French nation M. Poincaré asked M. Clemenceau to arrest M. Caillaux, if we believe the latter (III, 198, n. 1). It is a plausible explanation for the arrest. The serious charges brought against him could not be proved, but the maneuver was successful for M. Caillaux was removed temporarily from the political scene.

The Versailles Treaty M. Caillaux thought to be unsound both economically and politically for it did not point toward the early reconstruction of Europe. Back in M. Briand's cabinet in 1925 M. Caillaux worked for international debt settlements that would revive trade and industry; but he worked as a theoretician—almost as an adding machine—and without the understanding of human factors involved. On financial matters he held the politicians and public in disdain. He grew more and more bitter and more conservative. He seemed to take no interest in labor, in the League of Nations, nor even in M. Briand's schemes for international understanding. It is true that he did desire European federation that would revive trade and industry and merge productive forces. In his memoirs he treats of these matters very lightly, coming out with no federation plan, not mentioning the Pact of Paris, nor the Bank for International Settlement.

M. Caillaux remained in the Senate, as chairman of the finance commission of that body after 1932, until the Republic was voted out of existence in 1940. He disapproved left-wing increases of socialization in France and of Socialists such as M. Blum. Twice he asked for plenary powers to try to cope with inflation and budgetary chaos and twice he was refused these requests. He gives us very little on these matters in the present writing. Most of the text was finished by

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1930; the last forty pages were added in 1944, near the end of his life. He died a bitter and disappointed man who had utterly lost touch with the main currents of thought in his own country. He welcomed the Vichy regime because it might restore order at a time when France was in danger of being overrun by "the brutal force of Hitler and his band." "Unite or disappear" is his formula for Europe. He had no concrete plan in 1940. In his younger, liberal years he had had one. The world had passed him by.

Claremont Graduate School W. Henry Cooke

L'EUROPE, LE DANEMARK, ET LE SLESVIG DU NORD: ACTES ET LETTRES PROVENANT D'ARCHIVES ÉTRANGÈRES POUR SERVIR À L'HISTOIRE DE LA POLITIQUE EXTÉRIEURE DU DANEMARK APRÈS LA PAIX DE VIENNE, 1864–1879. Tome III, DU 1 JANVIER 1878 AU 31 JANVIER 1879. Edited by *Aage Friis* and *Povl Bagge*. (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard. 1948. Pp. 322. Dan. Kr. 20,00.)

This is the third of a series of four volumes designed to illumine the European aspects of the Slesvig question during the years 1864–1879. The concluding volume is expected to appear in 1949. The name of Professor Aage Friis as one of the editors is sufficient assurance of the high scholarly quality of the work. The present volume covers thirteen months just preceding the denouement that came with publication of the joint abrogation by Prussia and Austria-Hungary of the annoying Article V of the Treaty of Prague of 1866. Prussia had promised Austria-Hungary, at Napoleon III's insistence, to consider a plebiscite for the northern tier of districts in the Slesvig territory taken from Denmark by the Germans in 1864. The continued agitation for a plebiscite irritated Bismarck and found no support in the polyglot Dual Monarchy. In April, 1878, the two states agreed secretly to abrogate the obnoxious paragraph. Involved in a curious and factitious way with the Slesvig question was the marriage on December 21, 1878, of Ernest August of Cumberland, son and heir of the deposed king of Hanover (King George V had died in Paris on June 12, 1878) with Princess Thyra, daughter of Christian IX. Ernest August's unwillingness to renounce his inherited rights in favor of Prussia greatly disturbed Bismarck, who saw here another source of intrigue that might spread its contagion over much of Europe. The German minister von Heydebrand absented himself from Copenhagen during the wedding festivities to show his government's disapproval. The story of how Bismarck and Andrassy connived to postdate the agreement to abrogate Article V, and then made their action public shortly after the Cumberland marriage, was told by Friis in an article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* for 1921. This volume, with the succeeding one, will provide very nearly complete documentation for this curious episode in Bismarckian diplomacy.

Along with the three volumes of documents that have appeared, mention

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should be made of three parallel volumes by Friis in which he gives—in Danish—a historical exposition of this period in Danish-German relations on the basis of these and many other documents, printed and in manuscript. They are published under the title, *Den Danske Regering og Nordslesvigs Genforening med Danmark* (Copenhagen, 1921–48)—in translation, *The Danish Government and North Slesvig's Reunion with Denmark* (see review, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI [January, 1926], 320). The European tensions brought to the surface by the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 (Volume II of documents) and by the Congress of Berlin (Volume III) reveal motives and policies of leading international figures at the same time that they give added meaning to Danish-German relations. In the documentary volumes the letters and dispatches are printed in the language in which they were written—English, French, German, Italian or Swedish—and hence will be available to scholars who are interested in recent diplomatic history. The Danish sources for the Slesvig question per se began to appear shortly after the end of World War I under the editorship of Friis, with assistance from Bagge for the concluding volume, and they were published in a five-volume set under the title *Det Nordslesvigske Spørgsmaal 1864–1879* (Copenhagen, 1921–46), with a separate index volume (see reviews, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI, 320, and XXXIX [January, 1934], 371). This means that by 1949 historical investigators will have at their disposal not less than thirteen meaty volumes of authentic documents and expert commentary and interpretation with which to tackle the problem of Slesvig, Denmark, and Europe. Aage Friis's *Biblioteca Slesvigiana* is indeed an impressive monument to the industry and intellectual integrity of a leading figure in Danish historiography.

University of California at Los Angeles WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD

EUROPA UND DIE DEUTSCHE FRAGE: BETRACHTUNGEN ÜBER DIE GESCHICHTLICHE EIGENART DES DEUTSCHEN STAATSDENKENS. By *Gerhard Ritter*. (Munich: F. Bruckmann Verlag. 1948. Pp. 208.)

THE reviewer feels somewhat uneasy when he opens a book with the title *Europe and the German Question*. This topic has so frequently been used to transform complicated issues of cause and effect into simple questions of morality and to make wrong generalizations on the basis of correctly observed individual facts that it invites the banal. But, fortunately, the book under review differs from the usual pattern of studies with this title; it is a brief history of German political thinking, and it refers to Europe only so far as to refute Western misconceptions about Germany.

The polemic against what the author considers the Anglo-Saxon view of Germany is the most unsatisfactory part of the book. He regards as prevalent here those views which usually—although somewhat unjustly—are summarized as

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"Vansittartism," and he is hardly concerned with more penetrating criticisms based on investigations of German social developments. But even if one regards this as somewhat beside the point, there remains enough to make the reading of Professor Ritter's book worth while.

Of course, in his outline of German political thought, the author is on a well-trodden path. The book begins with a chapter on Lutheranism; it proceeds from there to the eighteenth century, and evaluates its outstanding ruler, Frederick the Great, thereby raising the issues of Prussianism and militarism. In a discussion of nationalism and realism, the pros and cons of German liberalism and of the Bismarckian legacy are weighed, and the book ends with a long treatment of imperialism and of the causes and consequences of the First World War as decisive in setting the stage for national socialism.

The following discussions seem most interesting: the arguments against the thesis that there is a direct causal connection between Lutheranism and authoritarianism, the suggestion that the intense study of the forerunners of nationalism has obfuscated the basic fact that nationalism became an important factor in German history only with the Napoleonic era, and the discussion of Bismarck's significance for German history. The latter contains a brief but excellent summary of the fateful consequences of Bismarck's domestic and social policy; the contradictions of his diplomacy—of violence and moderation—are explained by the fact that he followed eighteenth century *raison d'état* principles in an age in which the determination of policy by a small homogeneous ruling group was becoming an anachronism.

In general, it can be stated that the reflections of the author are always interesting and stimulating. The reader, however, will not agree with all his statements. I mention here only one. In discussing the developments after the foundation of the Reich, the author denies that the unification made Prussia all-powerful in Germany; he supposes that Germany was steadily progressing toward a democratic and parliamentary regime and that the restless foreign policy of William II was not fundamentally determined by the necessity to escape unbearable and unsolvable inner tensions. I don't think that the author adduces here many new arguments; the treatment of these problems is categoric rather than persuasive. This is somewhat characteristic of the whole book; it attempts to do more than is feasible in such small compass and in essay form. But to hold the author's eagerness to state the German case too much against him and to criticize the book too sharply because one would prefer a better rounded and documented presentation, shows a lack of appreciation of the importance of initiating immediately serious scholarly discussions in Germany and of the difficulties against which scholarly production has to struggle there today.

Bryn Mawr College FELIX GILBERT

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DAS PERSÖNLICHE REGIMENT WILHELMS II.: POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN KAISERREICHES VON 1890 BIS 1914. By *Erich Eyck*. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1948. Pp. 814.)

STUDENTS have too long waited for an adequate appraisal of Germany's last kaiser. This substantial, skillfully written, often dramatic, and always interesting volume is much the best so far, and yet not altogether satisfying. The author shows a wide acquaintance with the best sources. His quotations are mainly from the various diplomatic documentary collections, Reichstag debates, and contemporary memoirs and diaries, though he occasionally refers to the secondary accounts of Langer, Gooch, Oncken, B. E. Schmitt, and many others. He refrains from threshing over the straw of old controversies, and courageously sets forth the story as he sees it.

The book is virtually a continuation of the author's notable three-volume biography of Bismarck. It begins at the time of the Iron Chancellor's dismissal, and says nothing of the kaiser's formative early years, and little about his private life except to indicate how often he was off hunting or cruising at critical moments when he might better have been in Berlin. It sticks closely to the theme in the title—the kaiser's personal rule and influence, and consequent responsibility. It is a pretty damning picture, painted with more irony and scorn than indignation or bitterness. The author makes great use of the kaiser's impulsive marginal notes, but perhaps takes too seriously these unreflective, often foolish and contradictory, but sometimes shrewd impressions of the moment. Often the reader gets the feeling that this is more the brilliant indictment of a prosecuting attorney than the balanced account of an objective historian. For the sake of effect the author often uses italics in quoted passages where they do not occur in the original text, and sometimes omits, with dots, phrases which would modify or restrict the import of the quoted words. This is especially true in the last and least good chapter, where also seven of the footnote references are incorrect.

In dealing with the crowded events of the momentous years from 1890 to 1914, Dr. Eyck has struck a happy balance between domestic politics and foreign affairs, but with greater emphasis on the latter where the kaiser's influence was more disastrous. The longest chapters are rightly devoted to the three series of events that were most fatal for Germany: the first Moroccan crisis, the annexation of Bosnia and the *Daily Telegraph* affair, and the final catastrophe. For the first Bülow was much more to blame than the kaiser, and the chancellor here, and throughout the book, is rightly blamed with great severity for his byzantine flattery of his master, his duplicity, his bad judgment in prestige politics, and his dependence upon his evil genius, Fritz von Holstein. Bethmann on the other hand receives due praise for his high character, sympathy for his impossible task, and condemnation for his failure to appreciate earlier the danger of the kaiser's blank check to Austria and the influence that would be exercised by Moltke. The overwhelming condemnation of the kaiser and his generals in this final chapter is somewhat miti-

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gated in the closing pages where the author indicates for the first time that the Russian militarists were about as bad.

In the excellent though brief chapters on domestic issues the author gives a clear analysis of party politics and influence, and good characterizations of the leaders. He regrets that the German people did not, or could not, take advantage of the *Daily Telegraph* constitutional crisis to restrict the kaiser's personal rule by insisting on parliamentary responsibility; since they did not do so, they are to blame for a system that had such disastrous consequences.

As a final judgment on William II, Dr. Eyck paraphrases what Edward VII, if we are to believe Paléologue, said of his nephew to Delcassé in 1906: "He will unchain war, not by his own initiative, not out of warlike élan, but from—weakness."

Harvard University SIDNEY B. FAY

STALIN AND GERMAN COMMUNISM: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF THE STATE PARTY. By *Ruth Fischer*. With a Preface by Sidney B. Fay. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 687. $8.00.)

RUTH Fischer has written an imposing contribution to the understanding not only of a significant chapter of recent history but also of problems which today gnaw at the vitals of the whole world. Indeed, any reader concerned for these problems is perforce thrown back and forth between the twenties and the forties as the major actors of the Communist drama embark upon their portentous roles.

The three themes of the book—the history of the German Communist party, the struggles for power in the Soviet Union, and the fortunes of the Comintern—find their synthesis in the triumph of Stalin and his ruthless perversion of the Communist movement, and notably the German party no less than the Comintern, for personal and national Russian ends. The author takes her grim story to 1929 and projects additional volumes for the later years. It is a richly informed chronicle illustrated by a whole treasury of details concerning Communism's gropings and fights and maneuvers. It is, too, a veritable biographical dictionary of noted Communists, many of whom now either lie in the "State Party's" extensive cemetery or suffer the perhaps less dignified fate of membership in the Socialist Unity party of the Soviet Zone in Germany.

This hefty volume rests on a solid foundation of documentary citation. It draws heavily too, of course, on the personal experiences of the author, who helped to found the Austrian Communist party, who early became a leader of the German party, and who rose to a place in the Comintern before her excommunication in 1926. It is by no means, however, a book about Ruth Fischer. She appears at times in the first person and at times in the third, but only as one of the many individuals involved in her panoramic story. She deals with her own role as dispassionately as with the others. There is no hint of the latter-day repentant

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who seeks satisfaction in personal exhibitionism or who finds a new emotional security in some other kind of dogma. It is with impressive self-discipline and objectivity that she chronicles the misfortunes that befell her political faith and with it her personal life.

The central thesis of the book is developed with a formidable array of coolly marshaled facts, yet the author is not without her strong conviction as to the harm which Stalin did to the cause of Communism. Her case against him, however, is not a name-calling diatribe; it is rather a factual argument which is in substantial confirmation of the charges now frequently levied by informed persons beyond the pale of conformity. The author, in looking back after these two decades and more, is unable to associate herself unqualifiedly with any one of the Russian opponents of Stalin, but, in her conviction as to his misdeeds, it may be that she is disposed to idealize the realities and the potentialities on which he laid a crushing hand.

She writes, for example, "German Communism . . . could have matured, could have exploded the fetters of inhibiting dogma, trade-union narrowness, and lack of realistic audacity, if the revolution in retreat in Russia had not added a new bridle" (p. 632). Yet actually, as the book appears through one individual pair of spectacles, its greatest importance is its demonstration that these things of which Ruth Fischer complains were inherent maladies. The Communism which she describes was so poor in intellectual content and so alien to the economic and political realities of Europe that the moral fervor which it commanded had no outlet except in dogmatic bickerings and confused flounderings in the sea of tactics. For such a state of things it is difficult to surmise any end result other than the emergence of a hard and ruthless man.

Stanford University DAVID HARRIS

THE GERMAN OPPOSITION TO HITLER. By *Hans Rothfels,* Professor of Modern History at the University of Chicago. [The Humanist Library.] (Hinsdale, Ill.: Henry Regnery Company. 1948. Pp. 172. $2.50.)

THIS tightly packed little volume should be required reading both for students of recent history and for anyone concerned with the contemporary European scene. It does not claim to be a history of the conspiracy against Hitler or even of the German resistance movement. Least of all is it the story of July 20, 1944, which is scarcely mentioned. But as an analysis of the forces and motivations that went into the making of the anti-Nazi front it is much the most impressive study that has appeared thus far. Professor Rothfels has painstakingly sifted the growing mass of material that bears upon this problem and has been especially thorough in exploiting the rich periodical literature that has appeared in Germany during the last two years. His book is the first to approach a complete coverage of the many elements that made up the opposition to the Nazi regime. The movement

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had such an infinity of ramifications that earlier writers had inclined to concentrate on groups or tendencies with which they were most familiar and so to present a one-sided or even distorted picture. This has notably been true of such authors as were themselves involved in the conspiracy and thus were tempted to overemphasize the elements or phases with which they had been associated. Professor Rothfels' treatment slights only the Communist side of the opposition, not from inclination but simply because the material is inadequate.

In chapter after chapter the book traces the political and social attitudes of the oppositionist chiefs and groups. Though opportunist and disgruntled elements moved into and out of the conspiratorial circle, all the principal leaders and their closest associates were remarkably high-minded men whose hatred of the regime derived largely from ethical and religious principles. Even leftist groups were seized by a religious fervor that represented a moral reaction against the indecencies of Nazi rule. Long before the war there was willingness to recognize that the German people as a whole would have to bear some of the responsibility for Nazi crimes and the leading figures went to their deaths in the hope that their martyrdom would in some measure serve as an atonement.

The author states the purpose of his study to have been the search for historical justice (p. 158) and disclaims any desire to present a defense for the German people or to plead extenuating circumstances in their behalf. Yet it is obvious that anyone who writes or speaks about the problem of the German opposition against Hitler must do so in awareness of its moral and political implications. Conversely, those concerned with policies determining the future of Germany cannot ignore the significance of this problem. The war leaders of the United States and Britain were sufficiently alive to this to betray embarrassment when information detrimental to the basic thesis on which they were developing their postwar German program was thrust upon them. In certain instances they even evaded the communication of such information or of requests for direction. For similar reasons a conspiracy of silence on this subject prevailed for a time after the war; in occupied Germany this even took the form of censorship. Happily we are now well beyond this stage. New government leaders less committed to the idea of a "hard peace" and concerned with the alignment of Germany with the Western European community may find it convenient to combat the carryover of wartime attitudes by acknowledging the role of the German resistance. It is thus indicated that Professor Rothfels' search for "historical justice" is in line with any trend toward "revisionism" that may spring up in the wake of the Second World War and represents a powerful thrust in that direction.

Given the limited scope of the volume, only a few points might have been further amplified. The role of the Canaris circle of the *Abwehr,* which included in Oster one of the purest spirits of the opposition, probably deserved more attention. Further, it would have made for a better-rounded treatment to have analyzed at least briefly the motivation and role of the more obviously oppor-

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tunist groups, much as these were on the periphery of the resistance. A very minor point is the omission of November, 1939, from the list of "psychological" moments that were squandered (p. 75).

That Professor Rothfels did not attempt a more definitive work on the German opposition at this time is to be welcomed, for it was important to have this book now. Certainly he has contributed enormously toward providing the basis and the stimulus for further study of this problem.

University of Minnesota HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

THE GERMAN GENERALS TALK. By *B. H. Liddell Hart.* (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1948. Pp. xi, 308. $4.00.)

THE German generals who survived the war have been subjected to repeated interrogations. These interviews have been useful in filling in gaps and in helping to interpret captured German military documents. In an earlier book, *Defeat in the West* (New York, 1948), Milton Shulman has already described the German campaigns in western Europe as they appeared to Wehrmacht leaders. Captain Liddell Hart had one advantage over other interrogators; many of his prewar books were well known to captured German leaders. They talked to him without reservation and were eager to warn historians about basing their findings on the documents of Hitler's staff alone.

Captain Liddell Hart feels that it is historically false to charge the Wehrmacht with having helped Hitler to power. He also feels that the German General Staff has been falsely charged with having influenced Nazi policy decisions. In the early stages of the war OKH (*Oberkommando des Heeres*) enjoyed some freedom in the execution phase of operations. This period lasted until the Russian campaign of 1941–42. After that OKW (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*), which meant Hitler, Keitel, and Jodl, assumed ever greater control of operational and even tactical matters. Naturally the surviving members of the General Staff feel that if they had been allowed to direct Germany's military operations from 1941 to 1945, they might have salvaged at least a stalemate. Few would quarrel with their contention that they could have made the Allied victory a much more costly achievement than it turned out to be.

The experiences of Generals Tippelskirch (p. 189), Kleist (p. 213), and Henrici (p. 216) confirm Captain Liddell Hart's belief in the power of the defensive-offensive to hold up greatly superior forces. All these men conducted defensive operations against the Red Army. One of them, General Henrici, insists that the odds of three-to-one, formerly considered necessary to insure the success of an offensive, should be raised to six-to-one under modern conditions.

It is apparent that the author has reduced somewhat an estimation of Rommel's "genius" which he made in an American periodical in 1946. This shows an admirable willingness to amend an earlier judgment in the light of fuller infor-

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mation. He now feels that Field Marshal Erich von Manstein was probably "the ablest of all the German generals." He attributes to Manstein the basic features of "Case Yellow," the plan for defeating France. He is also favorably impressed with the military gifts and accomplishments of Rundstedt, Manteuffel, Blumentritt, and Henrici. He thinks that Hitler's chief fault as a military leader lay in his refusal to cut losses after all chances of victory were gone. This accounts in part for the defeats of Moscow, El Alamein, Stalingrad, Tunisia, and Normandy. Hitler's instinct for standing firm was correct in the winter war of 1941–42, but it led to disaster every time he repeated it after that. The failure of German leadership is attributed to a continuous tug of war in the area of command between the talented amateurs of the Hitler-Rommel type and the professionals trained in general staff methods.

Blumentritt's account of the bomb plot of July 20, 1944, makes a contribution to that tangled subject. It is to be regretted that the author did not interview Kesselring. He might have had something important to say about the war in the Italian theater. There are misprints which the publisher should have caught on pages 189 and 290. At the time referred to (p. 83) the *Technische Nothilfe* was under the Ministry of the Interior rather than the Reichswehr. While appreciating the author's emphasis on armor as a decisive factor in the German campaigns, the reviewer wishes that Captain Liddell Hart had succeeded in getting the generals to discuss with equal fullness the influence of the air arm on German victories and defeats.

University of Missouri H. A. DeWeerd

THE MARCH OF MUSCOVY: IVAN THE TERRIBLE AND THE GROWTH OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, 1400–1648. By *Harold Lamb.* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1948. Pp. vi, 309. $3.75.)

For a professional historian to review a book like *The March of Muscovy* is not an experience from which embarrassment is altogether absent. Obviously, its topic is a period of Russian history. One has some difficulty to decide, however, whether it is a piece of fiction or a piece of historical narration. What criterion to apply to the book certainly depends on this decision. If it is fiction, consideration of its literary values is more important than the degree to which it reflects historical truth; if it is a piece of historical writing, it should, first of all, be truthful. Unfortunately, a few pages are enough for the reader to see that it is not a literary masterpiece, and, when one looks for the familiar historical picture of the period, it is not to be found either. With a feeling of frustration, the historian concludes that, both in form and content, what dominates this book is an atmosphere of confusion.

The book contains six chapters, an acknowledgment (actually a surprisingly good bibliography), and an index. In spite of the prominence given in the title to

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the spectacular person of Ivan the Terrible, only one chapter out of six is devoted to this first tsar of Muscovy (80 pages only out of 292 pages of narration!). Surprisingly enough, this narration actually begins with 1200 A.D., though 1400 is mentioned as a beginning of "The March of Muscovy" on the title page. After having read the first chapter carrying the story to the Tatar invasion of 1238, one begins to wonder, however, whether from the author's point of view chronology matters in this early period of Russian history. In order to describe "Moscow, the Land and the People in the Year 1200 A.D." (title of the first chapter), Mr. Lamb draws extensively on sources for a much earlier period, such as Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Primary Chronicle. These documents refer to a life not only chronologically but geographically different, a fact the author seems to ignore. This lack of discrimination greatly increases, when "the early folk epic, the Word of Igor's Arming" is used by Mr. Lamb in order to describe "the people of the rivers." This epic deals with a region bordering on the Azov Sea—far away from Moscow; it deals with people, events, and institutions of a quite different Russia, the pre-Muscovite Russia: never mind, Mr. Lamb uses this epic in order to describe his Moscow land!

This is only one example of many. What is true with regard to chronology applies also to terminology. There are distortions of spelling such as *grozdniy* instead of *grozniy* (I make concessions to the author's system of transliteration in spelling this adjective meaning "terrible"), or *nemschi* instead of *nemtsi* (again a concession!) meaning "foreigners" (or, more specifically, foreigners speaking a Germanic language). These distortions are not the most important errors, however. There are incongruities of interpretation: Why does the same *grozdniy* become "master of the family," a noun, not an adjective, on p. 112? Why is *oprichniki* translated as "the surrounders" and not simply "people of the *oprichnina*," a word meaning "reserve," *i. e.*, land becoming the tsar's reserve, etc. etc.? Where did Mr. Lamb find Saint-Vladimir defined as Vladimir the Splendid (p. 18)? or that Tsaritsyn (now Stalingrad)—the author spells it Saritsyn—means Gold Point?

There are many unexpected things and statements in this book. On account of the customary separation of the sexes in public life and the wearing of beards by men, Muscovite society is accused of having "a taint of homosexuality" (p. 113). The "heavily bearded" great boyars "have their heads shaven like Tatars or monks" (p. 80) (is this a confusion with the Zaporogian Cossacks?). The *lieshi*, the male hairy genius of the forest, becomes a "seductive eastern lorelei" "enticing human beings to death in quagmires" (p. 15). And so on, and so on.

Why, with so many good historical sources at his disposal (and they are abundantly quoted, these quotations being the best feature of the book) has Mr. Lamb deviated so strongly from historical reality? He seems to admire such historians as Kliuchevsky, and he might have learned from them more caution and criticism. But of all components of the human psyche, imagination appeals to the author of

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The March of Muscovy more than anything else, and it has carried him undoubtedly too far. Outside of his narration he shows circumspection: his footnotes, with a few exceptions, are good and well balanced. What a pity that he did not use the same approach in the main text of his book!

Cornell University MARC SZEFTEL

FORCED LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By *David J. Dallin* and *Boris I. Nicolaevsky*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1947. Pp. xv, 331. $3.75.)

THE literature on forced labor in Soviet Russia is now considerable, and it is constantly growing. This is not surprising, for the "corrective labor camps" leave in the bodies and souls of those of their former inmates who come back to liberty outside of Russia such burning marks that they feel an overwhelming necessity to tell their sufferings to the world. This literature is based mainly on personal experiences, a fact which gives some of these narratives an air of poignant truth which stays with the reader a long time after he has closed the book.

The present volume does not belong to this category; it is not the result of personal experience. Nevertheless, it strikes the reader with forcefulness, for it reflects a personal conviction strongly expressed. Both Mr. Dallin and Mr. Nikolaevsky represent a political tendency of extreme intransigence with regard to the Soviet system. They belong to the second generation of Russian Menshevism, the generation which came to prominence after the October Revolution. Ever since they left Russia, they have continued the same political action against the regime which in 1917 became the great obstacle between them and the Russian workers, to whom they would like to preach the Marxian doctrine according to their own Menshevik creed. The events in their own country did not, however, stop the activity of this group; forced to become a general staff without an army, they have devoted themselves to a critical analysis of all aspects of the Soviet regime according to the same principles they were defending before 1917 within the Russian Social Democratic Workers party against their ideological contradictors, the Bolsheviks, whom October, 1917, transformed into Communists. It is the continuation, outside of Russia, of the old debate begun in Russia itself before the Revolution, and in this debate, the problem, very often, appears in the same Marxian terms.

Forced Labor in Soviet Russia belongs to this debate, and one perceives it in the undertones of the argumentation of the authors, whether they present the Soviet system as a society based on a new form of slavery, the laborers of the camps being "one of the main classes in Soviet Russia's social structure" (p. 87) or when Marx and Engels are quoted on the essence of slavery and its shadowy aspects (p. 99). It is a political book, first of all, but this political character does not detract from the great amount of truth it contains in its documentation, even

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if it does not allow the authors to explain fully the phenomenon with which they are dealing so extensively.

The book consists of two parts. In the first one, the corrective labor system is described and analyzed as it appears "in our time." In the second part its origin and growth are studied, from 1919 to 1947. The testimonies of victims are there, and it would be unfair to question their validity. From this documentation it is concluded that extensive forced labor is being used by the Soviet government. How extensive? The authors' estimates go as far as five to six million for 1937 (the year of spectacular purges) and ten to twelve million for 1940, "a class more numerous and economically no less important than that of free workers in industry" (p. 87). In a letter to the editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature,* February 7, 1948, Mr. Dallin defends these figures as the very minimum: "only consistent fellow-travellers consider it too high," to quote him literally. Professor N. S. Timashev, whose anti-Communist attitude cannot be suspected, arrives, however, at a much lower figure, that of 3.3 million for 1937. It is still an enormous figure, and it represents an appalling phenomenon! ("The Post-War Population of the Soviet Union," *American Journal of Sociology,* September, 1948, p. 150).

The authors make historical parallels taken mostly from ancient history, and in the last chapter of the book they look for historical precedents in the Russian pre-Revolutionary past in order to establish the ancestry of Soviet forced labor. These historical analogies are the weakest part of the book, and they decrease its unquestionable value. Do the authors really imply that the Soviet economy is based primarily on manual labor, or that in imperial Russia (and as far as 1917) economic life was dependent on convict labor? Both analogies obviously are faulty: the ancient world did not know any mechanized industry, and Old Russia did not utilize large masses of forced manual labor after 1861; Soviet Russia's economic life is based on both. And here is the crux of the problem, surprisingly enough not noticed by the authors, who, however, came close to it in chapter v. Is not a vast utilization of forced manual labor the result of the stage of industrialization in which Soviet Russia finds itself at the present time? Were Russia a "capitalist" country, manual labor for such enterprises as digging canals, building roads, etc., would simply be available on the basis of freedom; but in a planned economy, with a "right to work," how is it possible to find the incentives which will direct workers, freely, toward unpleasant and underpaid sectors of industrial activity? And there is not enough machinery to reduce the necessity of such manual labor. The result is compulsion with all its disregard for human dignity. It remains to speculate whether use of manual labor for these purposes will not decrease in the U. S. S. R. with the progress of industrialization, as it certainly did in industrial societies based on private enterprise.

The connection of the corrective labor camp system with the absence of basic freedoms in Soviet Russia is very well brought out in the book. For us this is the most important aspect of the whole problem. If "due process of law," personal in-

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violability, and freedom of opinion were a part of Soviet institutions, denial of freedom combined with compulsion to work would be an impossibility, at least with regard to the political offenders who are so numerous among the inmates of the labor camps.

Cornell University MARC SZEFTEL

THE STRUGGLE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN. By *Ferenc Nagy,* Former Premier of Hungary. Translated by *Stephen K. Swift.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. 461. $6.00.)

THE relatively short period since the end of World War II has seen events in southeastern Europe which seem to have been decisive for the future of ex-enemy countries in that area. The Western democracies, having fought the war in alliance with the Soviet Union, were unprepared psychologically for a good many months to assess the ruthless realism of Soviet power politics applied to the small countries of southeastern Europe. On the other hand, the non-Communist leaders in the ex-enemy states were slow to overcome the stunning effects of defeat in the war. Consequently, those leaders failed to understand that, by accepting the assiduously propagated idea of local Communist parties which identified those parties with the Soviet conqueror, they prevented themselves from offering successful resistance to Communist penetration while disclaiming any desire not to maintain the most neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. Thus, until it was too late, the non-Communist leaders made no special effort to enlist the support of public opinion in the Western world which once had the power, had it understood the issue and chosen to use its power, to redress the balance in favor of self-determination. Not until it was too late to do this in many countries did the experience gained open the eyes of the Western world to the necessities which called forth the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

Conspicuous among such non-Communist leaders was Ferenc Nagy, prime minister of Hungary from January, 1946, until June, 1947, who in the present book describes from his own knowledge the significant events and personalities with which he had to deal. As a leading journalist and spokesman for the peasant masses from which he sprang, Nagy early became a member of the Smallholders party and of its parliamentary group which fought feudalism during the Horthy regime (p. 22) when the peasant representatives did not realize that they would later have to struggle against two great imperialistic ideologies: Nazism and Communism (p. 24).

Following the setting up in 1944 of a provisional government in Hungary on the basis of an arbitrary coalition of the Smallholders party with the Social Democrats, the Communists, and the minor Peasants party, an armistice was concluded with the Allied Powers in January, 1945, and the slow work of reconstruction was undertaken. In November of that year a free general election was marked by

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the sweeping victory of the Smallholders. The newly elected national assembly promptly set aside the ancient monarchy and established the Hungarian Republic. In January, 1946, Nagy reluctantly accepted the premiership but on the insistence of Marshal Voroshilov, chairman of the Allied Control Commission, the coalition principle was retained (p. 159). Likewise, under the marshal's pressure, the vital ministry of the interior was assigned to the Communists (p. 163).

Nagy's administration as prime minister was based on the belief that the Soviet standpoint would be decisive at the peace conference and consequently he must do everything to insure Soviet indulgence; unless co-operation with the Communists and internal peace were preserved, Hungary in a state of revolution would not be considered fit to sign the treaty, while postponement of peace and extension of the Soviet military occupation "would mean catastrophe" (p. 250).

"The Hungarian peasants were the largest truly democratic group in all southeastern Europe, one that could not be swayed by any form of extremism and could be depended upon to resist all dictatorships" (p. 285). The Soviet authorities and the Communist party, having realized this fact by the fall of 1946, determined to eliminate the marked difference in this respect between Hungary and her southeastern neighbors by turning against the majority Smallholders party every subversive weapon in their arsenal (p. 291).

The principal such weapon used was a charge of "conspiracy" against the Republic, brought by the Communist minister of interior and his political police against certain individuals and soon broadened skillfully to discredit the Smallholders party (pp. 331 ff.). Direct interference by Soviet military and diplomatic agents in the procedure of investigation, ostensibly in the hands of Hungarian authorities, led to alleged incrimination of the prime minister himself and resulted at the end of May, 1947, in his resignation while on vacation in Switzerland (pp. 409, 417). Promptly thereafter the fate of the completely mutilated Smallholders party became that of a "pitiable minority subsisting within the now misnamed coalition" (p. 441).

Throughout the period of Nagy's premiership the impact of global politics was immediately felt in southeastern Europe (p. 381). "The Soviet Union, striving to insure its own security in southeastern Europe, and having no confidence in any organization outside the Communist party, would use every means to strengthen the Communist party" (p. 382).

Originally written in Hungarian, this book comes to us in an English version which seems to be accurate and idiomatic. The work reflects the qualities of the author, an experienced newspaper editor and a man whose strong personality is evidently tinged with the engaging credulity of the peasant that was, at least in part, the undoing of the political leader. When Mr. Nagy left Hungary on the short vacation which was to end in exile, he took with him no papers or documents (p. 407), which doubtless accounts for the somewhat discontinuous effect of the narrative in some parts of the book but makes it no less readable. This

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fact may also account for superficial treatment of important aspects of Hungary's international situation, especially with reference to the United States.

Professor Roy Nichols has argued cogently in the pages of the *American Historical Review* that the basis of historical study should be people; on this theory Mr. Nagy's book provides a first-rate example of primary historical writing.

George Washington University H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld

Far Eastern History

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE FAR EAST. By *David J. Dallin.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 398. $5.00.)

One of the most important questions confronting the makers of American foreign policy today is, and has been, that of the nature of national Communist parties and of their relationship to the Soviet Union. In the Far East this question is posed primarily in connection with the Chinese Communist party which now threatens to assume control of all of China. Is it, as some argue, immediately a party of agrarian reform which may be expected to develop its long-run program on the basis of an independent, essentially nationalist and Chinese, analysis of the problem of political, social, and economic development? Or, as others claim, is it to be viewed as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy?

Professor Dallin, in his *Soviet Russia and the Far East,* which is the first really extensive study of the question in its postwar aspects, supports the second point of view. His book, which covers the period from 1931 to 1948, deals with more than China, except as one defines China territorially as being the nineteenth century Manchu Empire. Soviet policy toward, and its relationship with, Sinkiang, Tannu Tuva, Outer and Inner Mongolia, Korea, and Manchuria, is examined as well as that involving China and Japan. Approximately half the book is devoted to the developments of the war and postwar years.

In each of the countries or provinces dealt with the author finds the same strategic pattern, with tactics modified and adjusted to the situation existing at different times and in different places. The ultimate aim was the projection of Soviet power over the Far East. With the ebb and flow of power between Japan, the United States, and the Soviet Union, affected by changes in the circumstances of European politics, the tactics employed involved: (1) appeasement of Japan and of Kuomintang China on occasion; and (2) commitments, not always lived up to, to the United States; as well as, (3) on appropriate occasions the use of pressure. Concepts such as "independence," "sovereignty," and "integrity" were employed against the "imperialist" powers supporting such regimes as that of the Kuomintang in China. When necessary, because confronted with superior power, the Soviet Union followed policies which apparently sacrificed the interests of the local

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Communist party. On their side, the local Communist parties sometimes "proclaimed proudly and publicly the ties that bound them to Moscow; at other times they preferred to parade as 'independent' and 'nationalist' forces. Actually, they at no time ceased to function as an arm of Soviet international activities" (p. iv). Otherwise, Professor Dallin might properly have added, as nationalist (even though Communist) parties, they might well have taken up positions of national self-defense against the Soviet Union on the occasions when its interests dictated a sacrifice of theirs, and of the country over which they were seeking control.

Professor Dallin's point of view is, on the whole, carefully documented in his book. While some of his conclusions, such as those expressed with respect to the extent of Russian control over the selection of the leaders of the Chinese Communist party—for example, Mao Tse-tung (pp. 104 ff.)—are inferential and thus not directly documented, the fact of relationship (which has sometimes been denied) between Moscow and the Chinese Communists throughout the entire period of the study is documented both from Soviet and Chinese sources. It is this documentation, as well as the carefulness of the analysis, which makes this both an important and a timely study. Until comparable evidence to the contrary has been as well assembled and as ably presented in support of the other point of view, Professor Dallin's conclusions as to Soviet policy, and the utilization of local Communist parties as its instruments, must be accepted.

University of Cincinnati HAROLD M. VINACKE

GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Translated from the original in Gujarati by *Mahadev Desai*. (Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 640. $5.00.)

GANDHI calls this book the story of his experiments in the spiritual field which were the source of his power in the political field: his sole desire was to obtain release from rebirth and death, *i. e.,* nirvana, absorption into the All-Soul the only existent entity. He declares that he was not trying to show his own goodness but many westerners will find it hard to avoid that conclusion. He was a man of spiritual vision but it seems that at times he did not realize the intensity of Moslem religious belief and therefore did not realize the intensity of the Moslem opposition led by Jinnah, who holds that India is two nations, Hindu and Moslem: to Jinnah those two words are full of religious significance and upon them are reflections of the Moslem belief in a sensuous paradise to be won by killing any non-Moslem, and the Hindu belief that even the shadow of an outcaste pollutes a Hindu.

In the introduction Gandhi insists that his only aim is to help any who are seeking the way of truth: that his "purpose is to describe experiments in the science of Satyagraha." He asserts his firm belief that God is the whole of reality: this is the idealistic monism which is characteristic of much of Hindu philosophy.

He practiced law in Bombay and later went to Natal where he had some suc-

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cess but felt much aggrieved when a judge made him remove his turban in court. In 1906 he took the brahmacarya vow, the perfect observance of which assures absorption into the All-Soul: that is salvation.

In South Africa he became interested in theosophy, let his life insurance lapse, lost money on a loan: but he found satisfaction in mud baths, became convinced that man needs no milk after mother's milk but should live on sun-baked fruits and nuts. He got sick and compromised on goat's milk because he wanted to live: but he nursed the sick in an epidemic of black plague and was immune.

In hospital service during the First World War, he took sick and gave up drinking milk. Back in India he was warmly received, and because he regularly traveled third class he had to be with passengers who were rude, dirty, and selfish. About this time he made clear his dislike of the great faults of the caste system whose rules and regulations he was frequently breaking.

Part IV tells more about his life in South Africa at the time of the Boer War: he had gone there to practice law and was soon in charge of the Indian Opinion Press at Durban. Here, as often, he was cherishing the idea of doing manual labor and of dispensing with the services of a physician, but later he admitted that his experiments involved risks. Chapter xxvi tells of the birth of satyagraha, passive resistance with broader implications, such as eating only to maintain the body, not to please the palate.

In 1914 he went back to India via London where he was much impressed by the women's work, and after some self-examination he joined in noncombatant activities although he regarded such as much wrong as fighting. He returned to India, where he became more and more concerned about the coming of satyagraha. Difficulties of third-class passengers on railroads worried him, but their ignorance and dirty selfishness is admitted as partly responsible. He would not wear the sacred thread but followed some other practices of similar sort. In 1915 he founded the Ashram at Ahmedabad: and soon thereafter was begun that civil disobedience for which the provocations came from the government and the reaction from the Hindus. The events of the last twenty-five years are not recorded; but it seems that his influence now that he is dead is greater than when he lived.

West Hartford, Connecticut LeRoy C. Barret

American History

SEEDS OF LIBERTY: THE GENESIS OF THE AMERICAN MIND. By *Max Savelle*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. xix, 587, xxxi. $6.50.)

One of the most notable aspects of recent historical writing has been the effort to interpret the past of the American people in terms of their collective "mind" or "thought." Beginning with Riley's *American Thought* in 1923 and Parrington's

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The Colonial Mind in 1927, we have had a succession of books by Schneider, Miller, Gabriel, Curti, and others on such topics as "the Puritan mind," "the New England mind," "the American mind," and "American thought." Some of these writers have dealt with their subjects almost exclusively in terms of the minds of a few outstanding individuals; others have given these intellectual mountain peaks merely passing attention, preferring to dwell on the broader plateaus of general, popular thought and attitude. Professor Savelle belongs somewhere between the two extremes. What he has undertaken is an interpretation of the cultural pattern of the generation preceding the American Revolution by an examination of the thought of "every important figure who flourished in the period between 1740 and 1760," when "the pattern of American culture was approaching maturity."

Such a project has involved a vast amount of reading on a wide variety of subjects. Successive chapters deal with religion; Newtonian science; philosophy; economic, social, and political thought; literature; painting and architecture; music; and patriotism. Each chapter begins with a treatment of the background of thought in England, the Continent, and the early colonies. Then follows an analysis of the thinking of the more articulate members of the pre-Revolutionary generation and of others of a slightly earlier or later date who may yet be considered representative of the mid-eighteenth century. In this way it is possible to emphasize the changes in thinking which took place as a result of the new environment and the development of American society. The author incorporates a great deal of direct quotation for the purpose of letting "the mind of the eighteenth-century Americans speak for itself, and present, as it were, its own historical evidence." The advantage of this method for the serious student is considerable, but it does not make for easy reading.

For the most part, the author successfully avoids the danger of suggesting that the American "mind" of this period was a unitary thing and that all mid-eighteenth century colonials thought alike. He points out the differences in intellectual heritage of various groups of Americans and sometimes suggests, sometimes emphasizes, the divergent views which many of them held in consequence of differences in background, environment, or status. Yet the author holds that the similarities in thought were more important than the differences. By 1750 or thereabouts the Americans, whether they knew it or not, were culturally one people, and their great common denominator was freedom. The experience of the previous century had been that of an intellectual revolution, during which most of the old stereotypes of thought had been cast aside and a new, more fluid, more rational culture had emerged. "Seeds of liberty" had been planted which have characterized American society ever since. This interpretation is stimulating and thought-provoking, but the strong emphasis on the concept of freedom may tempt the unwary into reading back into the mid-eighteenth century ideas of economic independence, political democracy, religious liberty, and personal equality which did not attain real dominance in American thinking until at least one, and perhaps two or three, generations later.

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The final chapter is the author's best. In it he studies the evolution of patriotic feeling in America. After briefly discussing the emergence of the sentiment of nationalism in Western civilization, especially in England, he analyzes the loyalty of the colonists, as Britons, to the mother country. He then describes the local patriotism of the Americans and their loyalty to their individual provinces or sections. Finally he traces the slow evolution of an "American" loyalty and the emergence of an American national feeling, which sought, unsuccessfully however, to find self-expression within the framework of the British Empire. No one has treated of this subject before so thoroughly or so well. Although presented only as the culminating topic of the book, this study of colonial loyalties is in itself a contribution of first-rate significance to an understanding of the final phase of American colonial history.

Yale University LEONARD W. LABAREE

CONSERVATISM IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Leonard Woods Labaree,* Farnam Professor of History, Yale University. (New York: New York University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 182. $3.75.)

THIS little volume is made up of the Phelps Lectures which Professor Labaree delivered in 1947 at New York University. The subject—the role of conservatism in the century before the Declaration of Independence—has been dealt with tangentially, of course, by virtually all writers on early American history. Except for some illustrations and for some interesting interpretations, Professor Labaree's picture of conservatism, defined as "an attitude of mind that tends to promote resistance to change," does not differ essentially from that found in the writings of Morison, Wright, Miller, Wertenbaker, Nettels, Savelle, and others. Yet in the very choice of conservatism as his central theme Professor Labaree has called attention to a factor too frequently overlooked by American historians.

No brief notice can do justice to the well-chosen illustrations which give life to the discussions of ruling families, plantation and countinghouse, pulpit and broadcloth, education and social theory, the idea of a balanced government, and the Tory mind itself. Many of the illustrations, to be sure, come from fairly familiar sources, and monographs have been intelligently used; but the choice of illustrations suggests the qualifications, the variables, the nuances in the conservative mind.

One can accept on a common sense basis Professor Labaree's contention regarding the negative and positive contributions of conservatives without being entirely convinced that he has demonstrated "that the relative stability and continued growth of American society owes much to the influence of the conservative leaders of the colonial and Revolutionary periods." It is not quite clear precisely how these leaders, by insisting that the new theories of economic opportunity and of social, political, and religious equality be properly tested before being put into practice, contributed unintentionally to the ultimate long-range transformation

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of American society. Professor Labaree would certainly agree that other factors also did so, and we still are not clear in just what proportions the varied contributors to that transformation made their contributions. In another sphere, it is certainly true, as Professor Labaree maintains, that American culture owes an incalculable debt to the conservatives who introduced books, patronized science, improved taste in architecture, and demonstrated the art of living graciously.

In view of the growing tendency in the teaching of American history to neglect the early period it is to be hoped that these interesting and valuable essays may be widely used as supplementary reading. They would certainly win friends for colonial history. The synthesis itself, moreover, is valuable to scholars by bringing together a large body of material, by presenting it succinctly, and by interpreting it thoughtfully.

University of Wisconsin MERLE CURTI

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL TRADITION AND THE MEN WHO MADE IT. By *Richard Hofstadter*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. xi, 378, xviii. $4.00.)

POLITICAL history, well on its way to the scrap heap two decades ago, has been undergoing a renaissance. Cross-fertilization with intellectual history has produced a harvest of insights indispensable to both. As intellectual history has gained relevance by a more complex understanding of the relationship between ideas and social change, so political history has been rescued from sterility and restored to its proper role as the medium for registering society's unending enterprise of accommodation to change. Mr. Richard Hofstadter's brilliant book *The American Political Tradition* is an altogether admirable product of the new political history.

The American Political Tradition is primarily a series of revaluations of American political leaders from the Founding Fathers to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mr. Hofstadter brings to this task the full apparatus of critical scholarship; but, more important, he brings a wide knowledge of political and economic theory, a genuinely cultivated and reflective mind, a sensitive understanding of personal motives and dilemmas, and a deft literary style. His estimates are fresh and original, shaped by requirements neither of myth nor of debunking. The essays on Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson are perhaps the best, although the two contemporary portraits—Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt—are both witty and illuminating.

The title of the book is a bit misleading, since the weight of the text is much more on the men who made the American political tradition than on that tradition itself. Indeed, one cannot escape a feeling of perfunctoriness about the introduction, as if it were tacked on at the last moment to supply some warrant to the title. Mr. Hofstadter has clearly not given the same full and critical attention to the question of the American political tradition that he gave to the subjects of his various essays. In general, he holds (at least in his introduction) to that new

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school which prefers to emphasize "the common climate of American opinion" rather than the differences. As the tendency of Mr. Gabriel's work is to reduce the profusion of American democratic thought to certain uniform doctrines about the moral law, the free individual and the mission of America, as Mr. Dorfman seems at times to imply that all American economic thinkers thought substantially the same thing, so Mr. Hofstadter in his introduction happily resolves American political conflict into a shared belief "in the rights of property, the philosophy of economic individualism, the value of competition."

One is almost tempted to ask why he did not add God, home, and mother, in which our political leaders doubtless also shared a belief. There is, of course, some merit in this viewpoint; it serves as a valuable corrective for any who would suppose that American history has been a series of profound and convulsive conflicts. But, as you may not see the forest for the trees, so you may run the danger of not seeing the trees for the forest; and the historian must strike some balance. The rest of Mr. Hofstadter's book, it seems to me, renders his introduction, not false (because what he says is perfectly true), but somewhat irrelevant. The crisis in the middle of the twentieth century may lead us in principle to talk broadly about the great unities of our past; but they fortunately do not lead Mr. Hofstadter as a historian to confuse Franklin D. Roosevelt with Herbert Hoover.

The slighting of the conservative strain also leads to some foreshortening of the American political tradition. Neither the profundities of John C. Calhoun nor the fatuities of Herbert Hoover can be accepted as representative of the best of American conservatism; and the essay on Theodore Roosevelt seems to me a somewhat routine brush-off of a man who might well be re-examined in the light of a great attempt to restore responsibility to American conservatism. There is no essay on Alexander Hamilton nor on Marshall, no treatment of Hughes, Stimson, or Willkie. This strain of public responsibility has doubtless been recessive within the conservative field; yet the reasons for its appearance or nonappearance are essential, I would think, to an understanding of the American political tradition.

I regret, too, that Mr. Hofstadter permitted his publishers to argue him into dropping all footnotes. But in most respects *The American Political Tradition* is an important and refreshing work. It more than fulfills the high promise of Mr. Hofstadter's earlier work on Social Darwinism and signals the appearance of a new talent of first-rate ability in the writing of American history.

Harvard University ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: A COMMENTARY AND AN INTERPRETATION. By *Harold J. Laski*. (New York: Viking Press. 1948. Pp. x, 785. $6.50.)

PROFESSOR Laski's most recent *tour de force* of the American scene should suffice to convince even the most skeptical of his ability to write one truly significant and penetrating book. On the basis of this latest evidence, unfortunately,

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it becomes increasingly clear that Laski's one significant and penetrating book is still his *Grammar of Politics,* published twenty-two years ago.

That goodly company which reads as a matter of course everything Laski writes, even the fairly lightweight peregrinations into which his political pamphleteering sometimes leads him, will find in *The American Democracy* that he has lost none of his wit nor flair for forceful exposition, and that his sonorous rhetoric abides with him yet. Despite its intolerable length and at times intensely tedious repetitiousness, the book is extraordinarily readable, immensely learned, and brilliantly encyclopedic in its analysis of American politics, culture, and society. It is, alas, not Laski's unassailable position as the ranking litterateur among contemporary students of political science that is skidding dangerously, but something far more fundamental—the integrity of his value judgments and the coherence of his intellectual processes. He appears, in short, a profoundly confused man.

The volume is organized in fourteen sprightly and attractively titled chapters. Laski gives us about seventy pages on American traditions and the spirit of America, a hundred pages on political institutions, a hundred pages on business and labor, two hundred pages on American religion, education, and culture, forty pages on our minority problems, seventy pages on America as a world power, fifty pages on the professions in America, a hundred pages on the press, movies, and radio, and fifty pages on "Americanism as a Principle of Civilization." All of the chapters, however, have the same major premise—the perfidy of capitalism.

The underlying intellectual confusion which permeates every chapter of the book seems to derive from two circumstances. In the first place, Laski's thesis involves a fairly doctrinaire attempt to apply the value judgments of Marxist theory to American social, economic, and political institutions and practices. Starting with the monolithic assumption that private ownership is bad and public ownership is good, and disregarding the moral and political complications which have attended the development of Marxism as a power system, Laski proceeds to an analysis of American institutions in which the facts he is honest enough to adduce controvert at almost every point the thesis to which he clings. To anyone with as much sense of form as Harold Laski possesses, this is bound to be a harrowing ordeal.

In the second place, although some omissions are inevitable in so large an undertaking and much latitude must be accorded the author in his appraisal of factors in the American scene, too many important things are left out, and too many significant things are brushed off or placed in wrong perspective. The enormous changes which have been wrought in American life through planning and conservation are ignored. American farmers will be interested to know that Laski regards them primarily as a "minority group" problem. The author's knowledge and understanding of developments in urban government in America is *de minimis*. He pigeonholes council-manager government as a "pill to cure an earthquake," ignoring the fact that over twenty per cent of our urban population lives

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under council-manager government, and that there have been more than 150 new adoptions of the plan in the last two years. Similar omissions in failing to recognize the impact of the social sciences on American politics, economics, and culture, and the influence of women in America are equally remarkable. American historians will be enchanted with Laski's comparison of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lenin and his successors, and Wall Street will be reassured to learn that the professor regards F.D.R.'s "New Deal" ideas as very small beer indeed.

All in all, *The American Democracy* is well worth reading, although D. W. Brogan's *The American Character* does the job in a fourth of the space and comes much closer to getting it right.

University of Virginia ROWLAND EGGER

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Douglas Southall Freeman.* Volumes I and II, YOUNG WASHINGTON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. Pp. xxvi, 549; vi, 464. $15.00.)

TRAVELING an unfamiliar century in his pursuit of its greatest character, Freeman displays the qualities of the very great biographer that he is. These two volumes of a projected six-volume life of Washington fall into an assured and high place among the many volumes written on colonial America.

Acclimated to the ways of less careful biographers, the professional historian will welcome Freeman's employment of scholarly apparatus and techniques. His quest for facts and nothing but facts shames the most persistent digger ever to come from a graduate school. Another writer would doubtless have omitted the often dull intricacies of the Fairfax grant, which Freeman, the first to unravel them, spreads out in an eighty-page appendix. And few authors would have deliberately almost lost sight of Washington in describing, in hitherto unapproached detail, Virginian society and institutions of the 1740's. This laborious patience in hounding a story to its lair is, after all, the hallmark of the good historian and good reporter both. Only a few errors, unavoidable in a work of this magnitude and of relative unimportance, have crept in, such as his failure to recognize Charlotte Browne, whose diary he cites, as a matron on the British army establishment, attached to Braddock's hospital, or his omission, when discussing the size of a regiment, of the easily ascertainable number of men and companies on a war establishment.

Akin to Freeman's devotion to fact is his caution in speculation where facts are scanty, vague, and merely suggestive. If the documents only hint at events, Freeman usually prefers to omit the hint rather than to use it as a basis of speculation. It is rare, of course, to find the kind of scholarly imagination which can build from only two known points of reference the structure which must have existed between them. In the hands of a writer less gifted than Freeman and of an organizer less deft, the result might approach dullness, but his crystal clear

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style, always flexible and readable, capable of rising to dramatic heights when the material warrants it, as in the chapter on the Monongahela, saves the book from any such imputation.

It is as an intensely ambitious young man that Washington emerges from these pages and especially from the long closing summary of his character. A member of Virginia's upper class but too poor in inherited land to support the social position he coveted, Washington labored so deliberately to reach his goal that the reader sometimes wonders if other distinguishing traits of his character, such as devotion to "honor" and rigid self-discipline, were also not cultivated as means to an end. Studiously deferential to his military superiors, ruthless toward his men, driving himself to the limits of endurance when in a position of responsibility, threatening to resign over points of rank and authority that seem, in the large arena of the war, of minor importance, quick to learn, an unusual administrator for a youth of his age, young Washington appears as a not wholly likable fellow.

Perhaps Freeman's picture of Washington would have had more dimensional clarity had it been assembled from more contemporary descriptions and comments by persons who knew the man. The terse and candid appraisal of Washington by John Rutherford, for instance, is not cited. There are probably others, though it is certainly true that the standard collections of eighteenth century documents contain fewer personal opinions than those of a more romantic age. Failing them, the biographer has to force himself to read between the lines, to learn everything he can about the people who did write to Washington in order to interpret what they meant by their words, and to steep himself in the intellectual, moral, and linguistic background of the time that he may judge with some exactness what lay behind the phrases of a letter.

All through these pages is suggested Freeman's unfamiliarity with the intangibles of the eighteenth century world. Nowhere, for instance, does he say that every teacher, every country gentleman, and even every politician or statesman in England constantly preached self-discipline and virtue to young men. Washington took seriously and followed the moral precepts of his age. Nor does he suggest that Washington, abhorring patronage and insisting upon promotion for merit only, was both applying the new rules which Cumberland had laid down for the British army and was following standards developed in colonial civil life in opposition to prevailing British practices. Nor does he compare anywhere either the orders which Washington gave in emergencies, or the rules he followed in building and managing his regiment, with the instructions laid down in the British or Continental art of war. Such comparison would have shown how far, if at all, Washington departed from accepted patterns.

Newberry Library STANLEY PARGELLIS

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THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY IN ACTION, 1789: A STUDY IN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By *James Hart,* University of Virginia. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xvi, 256. $4.00.)

THIS study grew out of the research of a specialist on public administration, exploring the gropings of the fathers during the first eight months of Washington's presidency as they filled in interstices of the Constitution. If Professor Hart has missed any pertinent matter in the contemporary letters, diaries, journals, statutes, presidential messages, and *Annals* of the First Congress, this reviewer did not detect it. Washington is seen reluctantly deciding to accept the inevitability of the presidency even as he is taking a shrewd measure of the great office. Proponents of the now pending constitutional amendment will get no comfort from his letter to Lafayette in 1788 wherein he argues against limiting presidential tenure.

Matters of presidential usages, etiquette, and precedence, now long established, were then of deep concern. Three weeks of Senate debate over a sufficiently imposing title for the President wound up in a deadlock with the House, which had its way with simply "the President of the United States" as given by the Constitution.

Time and again a fortuitous turn of events determined a governmental practice that long since hardened into inflexible custom. Thus Washington found the Senate adamant against his effort to have it share in the negotiation of the first treaty and even "Senatorial Courtesy" appears in these first months. Nearly a hundred pages deal with the debate on establishing the executive departments during which was made the "legislative decision" that left undisturbed by statute the implication that the President has the sole power of removal of executive officers.

It could have been decided that the Senate or Congress as a whole would share in the power of removal but, now that executive officers serve at the pleasure of the President, he becomes the chief of administration. Curiously enough, during the debate, Madison made the point that some administrative offices, created by Congress, are of such a nature that it can prescribe the grounds for removal. Thus were forecast in the very beginning the fundamental principles of both the Myers decision of 1926 and the Humphreys decision of 1935.

Much but not all that Professor Hart has gathered was already known to scholars but it has been sifted, organized, and interpreted, largely over the pattern of an emerging republicanism with its then novel symbolism in an almost wholly monarchical world whose symbols some of the fathers, notably John Adams, were exceedingly reluctant to relinquish.

Ohio Northern University WILFRED E. BINKLEY

YANKEE SCIENCE IN THE MAKING. By *Dirk J. Struik*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1948. Pp. xiii, 430. $5.00.)

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THIS is a social history of science and technology in early New England written for the layman. It reaches from Silliman's lecture hall at Yale to Thoreau's cabin at Walden Pond, Baldwin's Middlesex Canal, Bowditch's China voyages, Whistler's railroading in Russia, and the rise of the new factories in Waltham and Lowell. It includes the overlappings of science, invention, economics, politics, religion, and literature. With force and sweep Professor Struik does valuable service in this still strangely new field of what he calls the "sociology of science."

Even now, thirty years since the first general session of the American Historical Association devoted to the history of science, the tradition that scientists rather than historians write the social history of science seems to persist. The author is professor of mathematics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

To meet the organizational demands of this large undertaking the author has chosen to concentrate on thumbnail biographies. As a consequence the book abounds in adventurous, glowing personalities and in cumbersome detail too. The period of focus is from the Revolution to the Civil War, divided into Federalist and Jacksonian eras. In the Federalist era Professor Struik emphasizes that science was limited by the merchants' traditional concern for astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. Scientists came from the coastal towns, inventors from the interior farms. Theory (science) and practice (technology) were kept apart. In the Jacksonian era, in response to the demands of incipient industry and a new mass interest in science, theory and practice came increasingly together. The interests of science widened; scientists were no longer usually amateurs but often professionals, and no longer provincials but sometimes even international authorities.

The author refuses to introduce our current despair about science into this overview of one of its most momentous periods of advance. He admires Emerson's "healthy skepticism," yet is himself unwilling to accept Emerson's plea for "worse cotton and better men," believing that "under favorable conditions better cotton might produce better men" (pp. 215–16). Apparently the few early New Englanders who had developed a social criticism of science were more likely to be an Emerson, Thoreau, or Channing, than a scientist, engineer, or inventor.

Questionable statements this reviewer has noticed include the following: that "it was always possible for a *ruined* and enterprising mechanic or farmer to emigrate to the West" (p. 94; italics mine); that in England in the Industrial Revolution "two *new* classes emerged on the world scene, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat" (p. 97; italics mine); that the Palmer Bridge crossed the Piscataqua (p. 106); that the Waltham cotton mills established in 1813 "marked the beginning of the corporation type of business in America" (p. 145; in 1800 there were already some three hundred business corporations); that "the" campaign for the separation of church and state was "initiated" in the thirties and forties (p. 181; this campaign was already successful in Connecticut in 1818 and New Hampshire in 1819). The author states that he would like to know whether Thomas

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Machin, the engineer, was British trained (p. 113). He was; the answer is as easily found as turning to *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. The system of notes is bewildering and sometimes makes exact correlation of notes and text impossible.

It is easy to expect more of this book than its large purpose and portion of space devoted to biography permit. Obviously the energy that has gone into its preparation is enormous; the perspective is broad, especially toward Europe of the same period, and toward the present (there are, for example, some surprising parallels to Soviet Russia, pp. 212, 239, 279); the synthesis is often illuminating. However, overlappings of science and economics are described without any careful analysis of how the new technology changed business organization. Overlappings of science and politics too are described with the name of George Bancroft occurring only once in the index (but not appearing at all on the page referred to). We are told that the beginnings of mass production industry destroyed some delicate social and esthetic values; they are scarcely described, but they should be in a "sociology of science." The popular literature of the day reveals the nostalgia of the city dwellers for the farms they had left, but Professor Struik does not use it. Still we must limit our demands on the first book in a large and new field of social history. The author modestly confesses his choice of materials was influenced by their availability and by his own tastes, and hopes this book is at least "a first approximation to truth," as indeed it usefully is.

Olivet College CARLETON MABEE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN SECTIONALISM, 1819–1848. By *Charles S. Sydnor*. [A History of the South, Volume V.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 400. $6.00.)

THIS second published volume of "A History of the South" continues the promise of Professor E. M. Coulter's *The South during Reconstruction* of the quality of the series.

Professor Sydnor's task was no easy one. The forces which shaped the growth of sectionalism in the South between 1819 and 1848 cannot be dealt with simply; all were complicated by varying conditions and by their ultimate dependence upon widely variable human thinking, emotions, and resultant behavior. To confuse the problem further, the South was scarcely one, but ten, and later more. Apart from the fact that the Southwest was settled largely by emigrants from the Atlantic states, chiefly Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, the only unifying forces were slavery and an agricultural economy.

Further to increase the difficulty was the necessity of treating internal history and federal relations in one volume. The author's solution of that problem was first to analyze and describe the economic, cultural, and political movements in the several states during the 1820's and early 1830's, in succeeding chapters to

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deal with the South in relation to the nation, and, lastly, to "treat both these . . . aspects of Southern history, seeking to show the effect of each upon the other, and to describe the opinions, ideas, and attitudes that emerged in the South about its own way of life and about its relationship to the nation." He thus establishes two broad divisions: internal developments and federal relations.

The period first described, notable for progress in the South, brought it from practical national dominance to a subordinate position, one accompanied by economic as well as political discrimination, and by consequent bitterness and fear, both of which served as powerful unifying forces.

The chapters constituting the first group contain clarifying views of Indian removal, the westward movement of white men and slaves, population make-up and trends, agriculture with its methods and products, transportation, educational and religious movements, cities and towns, manufacturing. Government is admirably described, including suffrage and its limitations, with the undemocratic features to be found in many of the states, not varying greatly, however, from those to be found in the North. Slavery was still regarded as a grave problem, and there was a growing demand for emancipation. Nowhere was it defended, but the period saw a tremendous expansion of domestic slave trade. I do not recall anywhere as good a picture of the South of 1820, in such brief compass and with such a relative wealth of illustrative detail.

Discussed, too, are such national matters as the panic of 1819, which aroused so much hostility against the United States Bank—which in turn was transferred to the North and East—and which brought to the fore such questions as the tariff, destined as the first great sectional economic issue. Also described is the struggle over Missouri, which gave opportunity for a bitter attack on slavery. Involved were a constitutional question and a political one which aligned the North and West on one side and the South on the other. As Mr. Sydnor says, it made New England national and the South sectional. But it showed clearly that the North then struck at slavery only for its own political advantage. States thereafter were listed politically as "free" or "slave," the Mason and Dixon line becoming as real as a great wall and more inerasable. From then on the South, not always consciously, was on the defensive, and its peculiar institution was doomed. Nationalistic decisions of the Supreme Court, debates on the tariff and public lands, the growing frequency of bitter attacks on slavery, and consciousness that new trends in national policy brought injury to the South, all tended toward consolidation of Southern public opinion and of the votes of Southern congressmen. Solidarity was far off, but it was on the way.

State rights doctrine tended toward a more extreme form as it was asserted to protect a minority in a crisis. Thus the tariff and internal improvements were unconstitutional, the seizure of Indian lands, in spite of federal treaties and decisions of the Supreme Court, was constitutional. Jackson, backed by the country, destroyed nullification in South Carolina as a constitutional procedure and thereby

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strengthened the Union, but at the same time made it clear to the state rights advocates that any later assertion of state sovereignty must be secession. And so "Disunion"—hitherto a hated word associated with "Blue Light Federalism"—acquired standing in the Southern political vocabulary. It needed only the rise of the abolition movement, the tragic Southampton insurrection, the congressional struggles over antislavery petitions, originated only for political reasons, and the development of the doctrine of "higher law" to give it high standing in many circles. Moreover, as the Southerner saw the hypocrisy of much of the antislavery campaign, "he could recall little but self-interest, and at times a very ruthless self-interest in the words and votes of Northern congressmen."

The developments of the later years did not tend to reverse this trend of thought and feeling. The South dropped behind in congressional representation and became highly conscious of its minority status. Unifying forces, such as that of the churches, were weakened by sectional divisions. Party allegiance began to waver. The noise of slavery discussion was never stilled, and men's nerves jangled in echo. Open opposition in the South to slavery dwindled and disappeared and the evil problem of an earlier day was solved. Slavery was now all good; it was the economic, social, and moral foundation of a well-nigh perfect civilization. By the close of the period the South had closed its eyes, ears, and mind to what was going on in the world. They gave much thought to political theories and too little to changing social conceptions.

Along with this appears an exaggerated glorification of Southern government, society, and way of life. The psychopathic symptoms which had first appeared in South Carolina during the tariff controversy of the 1830's, became more general. The extreme ante-bellum defenders of the South "claimed their own age was the golden age, and they claimed that its main foundation was Negro Slavery." And thus the stage was set for the final tragedy.

Mr. Sydnor's frank confession of humility, as he concludes his work, is refreshing but unnecessary. His broad treatment of his subject is fully justified. Furthermore, his volume is full of luminous analysis and interpretation, is notable for its balance, understanding, and moderation, and is delightfully written.

University of North Carolina J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton

THE SOUTHERN COUNTRY EDITOR. By *Thomas D. Clark*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1948. Pp. 365. $3.50.)

THE RURAL PRESS AND THE NEW SOUTH. By *Thomas D. Clark*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 111. $2.00.)

The first of these two volumes is a study of the rural weekly press of the South from the Civil War to the present. It is based upon extensive research in the files of many of the more than eighteen hundred weeklies that existed in twelve Southern states. Since the weekly press is much the same everywhere, this volume

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will be of value to anyone interested in the rural weekly anywhere in the United States.

Professor Clark first analyzes the general problems of an editor of a rural weekly in the years immediately following the Civil War. He describes the primitive press and limited equipment and the use of ready print and boiler plate prepared by the newspaper auxiliary services of the Middle West; and he discusses advertising both local and national, especially of patent medicines, and other sources of income including job and official county printing and subscriptions. The editor often accepted farm produce as pay for rural subscriptions.

But the heart of the study is concerned with the news printed in the weekly press. People like to read about themselves and their neighbors; hence the press devoted considerable space to personal notes and local news items gathered by community correspondents. Contrariwise relatively little attention was paid to national and international news. The rural weekly contained a great deal of local history, folklore, superstitions, and tall tales. More serious matters—the one-crop system of agriculture, eroded lands, poor roads, crop liens, stock or fence laws, education, politics and the doings of the state legislature, crime and punishment, lynchings, public hangings, the Negro and race relations—were deservedly given the greatest amount of space in the 1860's and 1870's. Major issues of course underwent a change between 1875 and 1935; some old ones dropped out and new ones were added.

Professor Clark is deeply interested in the editor and his position in presenting the news, his editorial writings, and his leadership or lack of it in social, economic, and political reforms. He finds the better editors "aware of regional failures. Social institutions floundered on the rocks of antiquity and inefficiency, and the papers shouted demands for improvements." Some editors vigorously condemned while others condoned lynchings; and while some championed local reforms others steered clear of controversial issues. The reader of the book can only guess whether the editors and the press generally actually organized and led public opinion or whether they merely went along with their readers.

The author, through his selections, tends to overemphasize the strange and the unusual; he fails to pronounce judgment in many cases where his wide reading and study would lend authority to his views. He seems to accept the now disproved claim that most lynchings in the South resulted from the rape of white women by Negro men. Judging from direct mention of newspapers (there are no footnote citations), the author drew most of his materials from a relatively small number of newspapers; Virginia, Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas papers are rarely mentioned. A wider and more representative selection would have added to the value of the study. The use of more dates in the text would have been helpful, and illustrations could have been used more effectively.

The second volume under review is a condensation of the first with less factual data but more generalization. It was prepared and delivered as the Wal-

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ter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at the Louisiana State University in the spring of 1947. The three lectures deal with the character of the press, the nature of the news, and the position of the editor.

Written in an entertaining style these two volumes constitute a valuable contribution to an understanding of conditions in the rural South. In this respect they ably supplement Professor Clark's earlier study of the Southern country store (*Pills, Petticoats and Plows,* 1944). Furthermore they enable one to grasp what the rural Southerner himself thought about those conditions.

University of North Carolina FLETCHER M. GREEN

LINCOLN'S HERNDON. By *David Donald*. Introduction by Carl Sandburg. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. xv, 392, xxiii. $5.00.)

WILLIAM Herndon has always been a highly controversial figure in American history, and an authoritative portrait of the man has been badly needed. Mr. Donald has given it to us in a book which is scholastic, yet intensely human and interesting.

Herndon's early life, at times comical, at other times tragic, was that of a young country lawyer, who hated the law, but made his living by it, being held to his task by his partner, Abraham Lincoln. After Lincoln's death Herndon slowly drifted out of the law and tried to turn author, but he could not write well enough and, in order to subsist, became a farmer who did not know how to farm, just as he was a total abstainer who could not abstain. At one time the center of national interest, he slowly sank into oblivion, and died a poor and half-forgotten man.

Out of this medley Mr. Donald has fashioned a book which would have been fascinating even though he had not written it so well and with such painstaking thoroughness. In the labyrinth of history, tradition, legends, and outright falsehoods which winds itself through those years the author has followed every lead which may point to the truth. His is not a biography which tries to make a hero of Herndon. To Mr. Donald he is what he was, a talented, but unpredictable human, who erred frequently, yet was as full of ideals as he was of failings. Skeptical and credulous, modest and boastful, eloquent and boresome, Herndon really was several men cast into the mold of one.

Toward this strange character the author is sympathetic, but impartially just. His sources are numerous and varied, as is proved by numerous footnotes and quotations. If there have been lingering doubts that most of Lincoln's biographies have been built on Herndon's collections and recollections, these doubts have been definitely dispelled by Donald's researches.

It is unfortunate that on Herndon also rest the many fables which have crept into the popular conceptions of Lincoln's life, and that he gave ear to unsubstantiated stories which cast aspersions on a man whom he professed to love and ad-

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mire. One cannot help wondering what a biography of Lincoln Herndon could have written had he not been beset by monetary worries and harassed by other writers who tried to transform the martyred President into a semi-God, thus challenging his old law partner, who insisted that Lincoln's fame was secure, regardless of many weaknesses, known only to his intimates.

A few slight grammatical aberrations in Donald's book, such as hit-and-miss past perfects, could have been avoided by more careful editing, but they are insignificant when compared to the generally magnificent style with which the author has presented his absorbing and important theme.

Chicago, Illinois OTTO EISENSCHIML

THE LINCOLN PAPERS: THE STORY OF THE COLLECTION WITH SELECTIONS TO JULY 4, 1861. By *David C. Mearns*. In two volumes. Introduction by Carl Sandburg. (New York: Doubleday and Company. 1948. Pp. xvii, 332; 333–681. $10.00.)

SHORTLY after Abraham Lincoln's death in 1865 all the papers which had accumulated in his office files during his presidency plus others which he had brought with him from Springfield, Illinois, were removed from the executive mansion by his son Robert T. Lincoln. Until July 26, 1947, these papers consisting of more than eighteen thousand individual documents totaling nearly forty-two thousand leaves were unavailable to the public. During the more than three quarters of a century intervening, all sorts of conjecture and speculation about the nature of the collection arose. Scandal seekers and rumor mongers were certain that the public had been denied access to the papers because they contained material damaging to the Lincoln personality and the Lincoln administration. Even the Lincoln scholars, though in general agreement that the withheld papers would not sharply modify the Lincoln portrait or alter the known contours of his presidency were, over the years, more than curious about the content of the collection.

Whatever atmosphere of mystery may have surrounded this particular collection because of its long inaccessibility is forever dispelled by this book—one of the most important Lincoln books ever published. The product of David C. Mearns, director of the reference department of the Library of Congress and for many years an assiduous student of Lincolniana, the book makes two outstanding contributions. In the first place, its author, employing the finest tools of historical craftsmanship and with great literary skill, presents a history of the collection itself. The eight chapters devoted to this purpose contain a wealth of material covering many items including personalities that had to do with the collection. Nowhere, for example, will one find to date a more complete study of Robert T. Lincoln in terms of action and personality with relation to his father's papers. Herein, as Carl Sandburg well points out in his introductory remarks, we

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catch momentary self-portraits of the man and illuminating close-ups of the dilemmas and problems of a "distinguished, troubled, peculiar, and sometimes smug individual."

Mr. Mearns leaves no doubt that Robert T. Lincoln regarded his father's private papers as his private property to dispose of and administer as he chose. He gave Nicolay and Hay access to the papers partly because he believed that an authorized history should be prepared, and partly because they had demonstrated their loyalty to his father and he had every reason to believe that they would respect his own wishes. Furthermore, he had from them promises that whatever they wrote should be subject to his veto and change. To all others who requested permission to use the material the answer was "No." Undoubtedly this decision was motivated in part by his desire to safeguard against debunkers and besmirchers as he may have thought Lamon and Herndon to be. In part, too, it was motivated by his desire not to embarrass members still living of families closely associated with his father.

In addition to Robert T. Lincoln, John G. Nicolay, and John Hay, the personalities of Ward Lamon, William H. Herndon, David Davis loom large in these pages. Chapters seven and eight are primarily concerned with the efforts to induce Robert T. Lincoln to give the Lincoln collection to the Library of Congress and the conditions under which the gift was finally made.

The second and equally outstanding contribution made by this book is the selection of papers themselves. The more than five hundred documents—letters, telegrams, memorandums covering Lincoln's early years, his political campaigns and the months of his presidency up to July 4, 1861—are typical of this monumental collection. In making his selections Mr. Mearns has been at pains not to reproduce material, especially holographs, that has already been published. His examination of the collection convinces him that the principal contribution made by the Lincoln Papers lies in the materials which were addressed to Lincoln and which give background, solidity, and substance to his own writings. Such materials, as Mr. Mearns states, "illumine episodes, alter older concepts, shift emphases and accents, prove the power of his personality, trace the development of his character and career." The selections follow in strictly chronological order.

The selections represent a cross-section of American society in Lincoln's time. Many come from distinguished personages high up in government circles; others from

swaggering or influential politicians; party bosses, ward heelers; others from editors, clergymen, lawyers, diplomats, physicians, business men, organizations of all sorts for all sorts of purposes. But preponderantly Mr. Lincoln's correspondents were composed of the laity, that diverse, unclassifiable, resourceful, self-assured, and informed groups which constituted the American public. Of this last category many were lowly, illiterate, frequently impudent and obtuse, but they had needs, opinions, tragedies, expectations, humor; they knew what they required, and they

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knew that Mr. Lincoln was in Washington to serve them. Between them and him there existed an intimacy which only a man of the people and men of the people can fully exchange. Therein was the source, the strength, the explanation of his life, and therein is its most eloquent expression for us [p. 140].

And Mr. Mearns might have added as he does elsewhere (p. 32) that Lincoln was first and most of all a consummate politician and that his eminence as such derives entirely from his capture of the people's confidence. The selections also demonstrate conclusively that apart from politics Lincoln was a man of noble heart and a master in the field of human relations because he was so human and so understanding.

In going through the selections in this book one is impressed with the multiplicity of topics ranging from requests for political preferment to the Pinkerton code. During his single term as congressman Lincoln's correspondence was principally concerned with securing or maintaining public office. Even his wife's relatives importuned him, and his experience in this respect was only a prelude to what happened when he was elected to the presidency. The selections respecting the formation of his first cabinet strongly confirm the division of opinion respecting especially Cameron and Seward. The selections relating to the early months of Lincoln's presidency, better perhaps than any other source, reveal the anxiety and state of crisis which prevailed.

The fact that the spelling has not been changed is often in itself illuminating as the following illustrates:

December, the 11..18..60

My lincoln sir i this after Noon take the opertunit to rite A lettr to you I was very much pleased Whean I heard you was leced for our president for I don all I could to git you in to ofies I stude in the streats and hurade for you and waed in the mud sume the river to a Repubalican meeting and traveled a bout six weakes lectionneer for you and spent considerable pocet chane and yesterday I had a law sute with a democrat on presidence lection I bet 50 fifty dollars that you would be a lected and he bet the same a mount that you would Not so when we heard that you was leced I toled the Gentleman that I wanted the money and he refused paying it and one word brot on a nother tel at last I Nocked the gentleman down and so you see he tuck the law on me and it Cost me 50 dollars so Mr. lincoln I have don my part for you I think you ar in debt to me for my Cindness to you

pleas ancer this lettr
to Mr a lincoln

George W. Wright
Sarah E. Wright

One final statement: the book is remarkably free from error. On page 39 Homer is located in "Court County," New York. It should read "Cortland County" and so appears in the index. The index is excellent. These two volumes whet one's appetite for what is to follow.

Columbia University HARRY J. CARMAN

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THE MYSTERY OF "A PUBLIC MAN": A HISTORICAL DETECTIVE STORY. By *Frank Maloy Anderson.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1948. Pp. 256. $3.75.)

HAS the "Public Man" whose famous anonymous "Diary," picturing the Washington scene in the secession winter of 1860, ran in the *North American Review* from August through November, 1879, at last been identified? Of all the scholars who have tried to solve that mystery of authorship Professor Frank Maloy Anderson has been the most ingenious and indomitable. Has any detective in history or fiction surpassed his record of thirty-five years on a single "case"? In 1928 before the American Historical Association he presented strong arguments for Amos Kendall. He found eighteen points in the diary which a candidate must satisfy, and the coat fitted Kendall well, yet he had to list him with a hundred other also-rans when he discovered that Kendall and the diarist had twice been in different places at the same time. The determined sleuth adopted a new method and started again. If the work entirely or in part were fiction the author's portrait might "unconsciously" have been imbedded in the diary itself. He found thirteen leads and stumbled on his quarry. Not a "Public Man," in the usual sense, but an able and polished man of the world who knew everybody, a popular host who gave expensive dinners, with interests to protect and clients to serve. The diarist was "Sam" Ward, known as "the King of the Lobby," the brother of Julia Ward Howe.

This finding Professor Anderson holds to be "indubitably" correct (p. 161). He thinks Ward kept a "meagre" diary, and with some aid, perhaps, from his friends, William Henry Hurlbert of the New York *World,* and the brilliant young editor of the *Review,* Allen Thorndike Rice, "embellished" this record with clever sayings and amusing anecdotes—and got away with it. Various historians, James Ford Rhodes among them, were fooled.

Numerous valid questions remain unanswered. The detective admits the difficulty of separating the wheat from the chaff, the "core" from the "embellishments." Rice, after only two years of editorship, was putting out a magazine surpassed by none anywhere in influence and prosperous popularity. We are told that his "editorial license" did not extend to "actual fraud" (p. 139), yet that "he did know the real character of the Diary" (p. 171). In later years he did stoop to the use of fake signatures; his "Arthur Richmond," writer of malignant partisan diatribes, is said to have been Hurlbert. In some degree he was false to his announced editorial objectives. One wonders what relation, if any, exists between the diary and the group of letters from Edwin M. Stanton to James Buchanan which appear together in the *Review* for November. The last diary date is March 15, 1861; the first letter is dated March 14. The editor says simply that the letters were "handed to him for publication by a distinguished gentleman." Anonymity again! Large portions of the diary are rejected as fiction; why not all? The author holds that no faker could have escaped inaccuracies and committed so few

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anachronisms, whereas these compilers were saved by the genuine "core." Did they insert a few false leads? Abraham Lincoln would never have asked a man of Ward's build if he had ever measured heights with Charles Sumner. On the other hand Ward did have a "Cousin V—". The author discards the Lincoln interviews, and such stories as his black gloves at the opera—which will not be missed—and the story of Stephen A. Douglas holding Lincoln's hat at the 1861 inauguration—which will be.

Only the discovery of conclusive evidence against this identification—a most improbable thing—can upset Professor Anderson's case. We may never have an absolute demonstration. As a historical detective he deserves round upon round of applause. As an example of the search for and sifting of evidence the volume is a text for every seminar in historical method and should be required reading for graduate students majoring in history.

Boston, Massachusetts F. Lauriston Bullard

FIGHTING POLITICIAN: MAJOR GENERAL N. P. BANKS. By *Fred Harvey Harrington,* Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association. 1948. Pp. xi, 301. $3.50.)

One of the paradoxes of the Civil War is that a Grade-B Massachusetts politician, wholly uninformed on military affairs, should be commissioned a major general at the outset of the war, outrank Grant until 1864, and, to the end, stand higher on the lists than Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, and Meade. But this is only one of the many peculiarities which marked the singular career of N. P. Banks and made him a man much talked about in his day. He might almost be said to have been the prototype of Horatio Alger's rags-to-riches heroes, since Banks was born an urban worker's son in the shadow of the "first modern factory in America," and later (1860) had his rise to prominence depicted in a book (not, alas, written by Alger) with the intriguing title of *The Bobbin Boy, or How Nat Got His Learning.*

Alger's heroes never sinned. Unfortunately this was not true of our "bobbin boy." He held the governorship of Massachusetts, served ten terms in Congress, and once occupied the Speaker's chair. As a general he fought, if that is the word for it, Stonewall Jackson in the Valley and at Cedar Mountain, succeeded Butler at New Orleans, co-operated with Grant and Farragut in opening the Mississippi, figured in the early reconstruction of Louisiana, and commanded the Red River expedition. Opportunities came to him in abundance to shape the course of important events: the reform movements of the forties, the sectional crisis of the fifties, the conduct of the war, Reconstruction, and the labor movement. Yet in all respects he failed, and the failure was one of character rather than of talent. Banks was essentially a man of ambition whose self-seeking led him to steer by ex-

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pediency rather than by principle. He was true to nothing but his pocketbook, and sometime or other in life he betrayed every group with which he had been aligned, veered on all issues even to the point where he opposed his own convictions, and, as a congressman, accepted "gifts" from men who wished to influence his vote. He sought fame and yet lost it in the end because he was dreadfully afraid to lose and would compromise even integrity to avoid defeat.

Such a man has not been easy for historians to fit into a pattern, quite frequently because he exhausts our patience before he wins our understanding. Yet without yielding to sentimentality for the "bobbin boy," and without minimizing the ruinous effect expediency had upon good intentions, something can be said for Banks in both the political and military aspects of his career. Even more important is the fact that, out of material such as he, a good deal of the history of the Civil War generation was made, and it must be understood if the period is to have complete meaning.

Professor Harrington in *Fighting Politician* has succeeded both in his portraiture of Banks and in assessing Banks's role in history. The book is almost clinical in its precise analysis. Each chapter of Banks's career is probed, and the finding is rigorously conditioned by the evidence. Accuracy and soundness of judgment mark every page. This is a work which the professional scholar can depend upon with confidence that all the available evidence has been used effectively. Perhaps the book's one weakness is a matter of style. Not much of the color of a colorful career is permitted to show on these chaste pages.

Harvard University PAUL H. BUCK

WILLIAM C. WHITNEY, MODERN WARWICK. By *Mark D. Hirsch*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1948. Pp. xiii, 622. $5.00.)

IT was Elihu Root who bestowed the title of Warwick (the king maker) on William Collins Whitney for his yeoman efforts in securing the nomination and election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency in 1892. But Whitney was much more than a political figure. Like Mark Hanna, McKinley's king maker, he had an amazing complex of interests in business affairs; and he is perhaps best known to the general public as the consolidator of the more than a score of independent and inadequate street railways of the city of New York.

Mr. Hirsch in this exhaustive biography does full justice to the manifold activities of Whitney's life, in some instances, such as the account of his term as corporation counsel for New York City (1875–1882) and of his administration of the Navy Department in Cleveland's first term (1885–1889), overwhelming us with a mass of detail and a plethora of names which make it hard for the reader to see the woods for the trees. What stands out most strikingly in Whitney's varied career is his unquenchable energy. He drove straight to his objectives, whether they were the triumph of a political party, the purging of a corrupt

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municipal stewardship, the rehabilitation of the United States Navy, the amassing of a private fortune, or the patronage of such civic institutions as the Metropolitan Opera and the Art Museum. Yet, for all his dynamic convictions, he was the soul of fairness and conciliation, as demonstrated by his ability to get along with the bosses of Tammany Hall (except Tweed) and his skill as mediator between them and the recalcitrant Cleveland in the critical days of the 1892 campaign.

It seems as though Whitney were torn at times between the attraction of a political career and the urge to acquire a fortune. He was "boomed" for the offices of governor of New York, United States senator and President at various times in the 1890's. Cleveland offered him any cabinet position he chose in the second administration. But Whitney declined all these overtures and after the capture of the Democratic party by Bryan in 1896 and the consequent triumph of the Republicans, he devoted the remaining years of his life to the custodianship of his augmenting wealth and to his conspicuous social activities. His devoted friend and Yale ('53) classmate, William Graham Sumner, while expressing his and his classmates' pride in Whitney's accomplishments, nevertheless voiced the regret that "he should have given up the last ten years of his life (he died in 1904) to the pursuits which then occupied him exclusively"—meaning lavish entertainments, club life, and the race track. Whitney's (first) marriage to Flora, the daughter of Senator Henry B. Payne of Ohio, marked the beginning of an exceptionally harmonious family life, and he and Mrs. Whitney are said to have entertained no fewer than 60,000 guests in their palatial houses in New York and Washington. Their two sons, Harry Payne and Payne, married respectively daughters of Vanderbilt and John Hay. Measured by such colossal fortunes as those of Ford, Rockefeller and Ryan, Whitney's, which ran into the tens of millions, was comparatively modest; for he was a lavish spender, regarding money as a means rather than an end.

Mr. Hirsch, in spite of his admiration for Whitney, never allows adulation to obscure the facts. He paints the man as a product of the highly acquisitive and not too scrupulous age in which he lived, and while crediting him with a sincere effort for reform, recognizes the inevitable compromises that he had to make with men of lower moral stature like a Kelly or a Croker. Mr. Hirsch's volume is remarkably free from errors. But here and there we find a slip. For instance, he calls Sumner "a famous economist" (p. 15), makes the Theodore Roosevelts a part of the Washington society in Cleveland's first term (p. 256), and calls Senator Morgan of Alabama "chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee" (p. 418).

Columbia University DAVID S. MUZZEY

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, EDUCATOR AND INTERRACIAL INTERPRETER. By *Basil Mathews*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 350. $4.75.)

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THIS book seems to me important in three ways.

As biography, it paints a masterly full-length portrait of one of our greatest Americans. Drawing together hitherto fragmented materials from secondary sources, enriching these with quantities of new primary data, such as Washington's official notes to his deans and faculty and reports of interviews with men who knew him, Mathews has synthesized them all into a massive figure of dynamic genius. This figure is made to tower by laying it against a rich background of places, people, and times, ranging from Washington's family home and the campus of Tuskegee over the whole South, to the White House, and to the farms, vineyards, and courts of Britain, continental Europe, and Africa.

As history, it brilliantly illuminates much of the current conflict over civil rights, our American handling of minorities, the recent revolt of the Dixiecrats, the attempts to establish laws and commissions for fair employment practices, and many related national problems. It moves out, as did Washington, onto the world front and offers clues and guidelines for our participation in the activities of the UN and especially UNESCO as the member nations work toward the solution of the imperial-colonial conflicts in Africa, the Middle East, India, the Netherlands East Indies, and elsewhere.

As an educational document it clarifies and sometimes partly resolves the many-faceted issues between cultural and practical, academic and vocational, theoretical and applied education. Washington's analyses of the needs of students and of the needs of our society for young people trained in personal, social, and vocational competencies of many varieties led to the fomulation of sound policies and programs of deep and wide significance, not for Negro education alone but for all education everywhere. His development of agricultural mobile schools and extension services, the extraordinary training and placement of Jeanes teachers in the rural schools, the Rosenwald libraries, the Negro Year Book, the Business League, the educational research center, and the process of the combined study-project method at Tuskegee, all have profound implications for the further development of community junior colleges and adult education in the United States.

Two minor criticisms seem to me to be valid. One is that, perhaps because of the brevity of the book, there is an inevitable distortion arising from the fact that the author did not have time or space to deal adequately with the activities of other Negro colleges than Tuskegee and their relationships. In consequence, the reader, unfamiliar with the whole system of Negro higher education, too easily gets the impression that the other hundred or more institutions counted for far less than they actually have and do. The second is that Mathews occasionally falls into the error that any white man may in writing sympathetically of the colored people and their problems of briefly losing his objectivity as historian and wallowing a bit in sentimentality. These lapses are not, however, extensive enough to mar a sound and important volume of biography, history, and education.

University of California at Los Angeles MALCOLM S. MACLEAN

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HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. By *Philip S. Foner.* (New York: International Publishers. 1947. Pp. 576. $4.50.)

PHILIP Foner disagrees sharply with the Commons-Wisconsin school as to the factors guiding and propelling the labor movement in the United States. In this volume, which takes us from early colonial times to the founding of the American Federation of Labor in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Foner challenges the Commons thesis that only job-conscious unionism could survive in the United States. He points to the rise of the C. I. O. in the 1930's as a clincher to his argument, although he leaves the study of this, and modern unionism in general, to a later volume. Even while the Commons theory was being formulated, he says, events were shaping to disprove the Commons theory. Blasting the Commons interpretation is one of the two major tasks Foner has taken upon himself. The other is to develop from manuscripts, newspapers, pamphlets, and monographs, a new interpretation of the working class role in the social and political struggle.

Foner begins by examining why unions could not develop during the colonial period of this country. He then takes us through labor's ups and downs during the battle between Federalism and Jeffersonianism, through the period of political awakening, the beginnings of Jacksonian democracy, the cults of utopianism, the decades of the ten-hour movement, through the Civil War and labor's alleged part in the Copperhead campaign and the draft riots, through the attempts at founding a national labor movement, the short-lived National Labor Union, and through the brief candescence of the Knights of Labor to the beginning of the A. F. of L. and bread-and-butter unionism.

Foner's mission is to demonstrate that labor, after wandering through the maze of utopianism, syndicalism, socialism, and political action, took the wrong turn into the blind alley of job unionism, where it was lost until it saw the light and got back on the main road of industrial unionism during the 1930's. Foner has turned over a great many materials, but his book cannot be said to constitute a careful analysis. Certainly it cannot pretend to be objective. Throughout the book, labor is invariably the hero who is never even muddle-headed—just put upon by capital, which is always monopolistic, never does anything to defeat its own interests, and always speaks with one voice.

I do not dispute his thesis that the working classes made a great contribution to the growth of our social ideals. I have become convinced, moreover, that J. P. Morgan added more spans to a bridge to socialism than Norman Thomas could in ten lifetimes. But I do get bored with such a paragon of virtue. Labor just couldn't be this good; or capital this bad. Foner's conclusion that job unionism was a blind alley, and not a connecting road to industrial unionism, does not flow

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naturally out of his materials or his analysis. It seems to me that he overlooked a critical ingredient in the development of industrial unionism, which was largely missing in 1890 and was not available in important quantities until the 1930's: namely, a favorable political climate. Labor unions, even craft unionism, did not take firm root until the 1890's because it was not until then that the general public became really apprehensive of industrial monopolies and therefore partly sympathetic of labor's efforts to protect itself. The climate became favorable (though only to limited unionism) because of a cumulation of circumstances: the merger movement, the migration of population into large industrial cities where they began to become a political force, and the awakening of farmers to the threat of industrial and transportation monopoly.

Thus at the same time that the urban worker began to become a political force, the farmer, without having much sympathy for the urban worker, found himself fighting the same enemy. Public hostility against unions eased sufficiently so that a very hardy kind of unionism could survive a depression such as the 1890's or 1908. Not until the 1930's, however, did the public attitude become sufficiently salubrious for the unskilled factory worker to stand up against mass production corporations. Only when the center of population had shifted, from the farm and the village, to the great cities of New York, Chicago, and Detroit, and it became clear that the city vote would turn the election, did the law and the police shift their power behind the industrial worker and literally force the large employers to deal with their unions.

It is unrealistic to think that political and industrial unionism could have been successful until the social and economic development had shifted the center of political power. Or, indeed, that unionism could survive in the future if that political power should ever shift against it! It is possible that the 1930's represented a delay of a decade or two. But it is hard to believe that times were ripe for industrial unionism in the 1890's or before.

Johns Hopkins University CLARENCE D. LONG

THE LEGACY OF SACCO AND VANZETTI. By *G. Louis Joughin* and *Edmund M. Morgan*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1948. Pp. xvii, 598. $6.00.)

IN the present study a specialist of the law of evidence and a social scientist have joined forces to examine the most important criminal case in the annals of twentieth century American administration of justice.

Professor Morgan retraces and evaluates the two trials and the various later motions entertained by the defense before both Judge Thayer and the higher courts, as well as the proceedings before Governor Fuller and the advisory committee headed and dominated by President Lowell. Louis Joughin surveys the social setting, public opinion, and the activities of the defense committee, and

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assesses the literature which grew out of the case. The main figures, especially Sacco and Vanzetti, are penetratingly analyzed.

Morgan's narrative brings out very forcefully the point that in the original trials Sacco and Vanzetti lost their case because they were faced by a threefold phalanx working against them: an overzealous prosecution, which overstepped the bounds of propriety, a biased though correct judge, and a grossly incompetent defense. The last misfortune, I would conclude, was the most deadly one; Morgan's study of the transcript shows how any competent defense should and could have taken to task the so-called experts of the prosecution. The then prevailing rules, afterward abrogated, fortified the Supreme Judicial Council's stand not to vacate a judgment in what by this time had been transformed into a contest of "Judge Thayer against the Defense Committee." The governor's advisory committee was not bound by narrow procedural rules and new evidence was laid before it. The study clarifies the double failure of this committee. It failed to evaluate the evidence intelligently and it refused to face the fact that social pressure and prejudice played an important part in each stage of the trial. In this sense Joughin's remark that "the Governor and his advisors did not materially contribute to the determination of justice" is by no means an overstatement. Joughin's carefully documented story of pressure and counterpressure throughout the seven years of the case shows that Massachusetts opinion, both official and popular, was hardening in the face of radical, labor, and intellectual support of Sacco and Vanzetti. In summing up, Joughin weighs the circumstances which may speak for the guilt or innocence of the defendants. He enumerates among those favoring their innocence: failure of the legal system, the sickness of society, the quality of the defense in the later stages of the case, and the literary verdict.

But what gives this case its unique importance in the annals of human history is, in the authors' phrase, "the quality of Sacco and Vanzetti." These two foreign-born libertarian anarchists would have been as hostile to the juggernaut of the rising Soviet state as they were to the established order of New England. By accident they became a world-wide symbol of the fight for justice.

In Vanzetti's mind and among supporters of the two men there was an intense struggle between the respective virtues of appealing to bourgeois (*i.e.*, universal) justice for all and construing and fighting the case as a characteristic episode in the widening class struggle. Though Morgan is right in insisting on the role popular prejudice is playing to this very day in perverting the operation of an unbiased administration of criminal justice, the Sacco and Vanzetti case undoubtedly has done its part to arouse both the legal fraternity and the public at large to the ever-present danger of class or race bias. For us in 1948 the fact that the idea of justice even for one's political enemies has a fighting chance in the United States probably appears as the major legacy which we owe to this case.

Washington, D. C. OTTO KIRCHHEIMER

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THE PABST BREWING COMPANY: THE HISTORY OF AN AMERICAN BUSINESS. By *Thomas C. Cochran,* Professor of History, New York University. [Business History Series.] (New York: New York University Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 451. $5.00.)

THE Graduate School of Business Administration of New York University is to be commended for undertaking to produce a series of business history studies. As Dean G. Rowland Collins indicates in his foreword, "Politicians, generals, clergymen, and 'intellectuals' of established professional status have claimed and won the spotlight in much or most of the historical writing to the exclusion of the less articulate but equally important men of business." To Professor Cochran falls the distinction of editing the series and preparing the first volume.

Creative genius and enormous energy have been constant features of American business enterprise. Yet it is well to remember that in many instances the initial impulses, techniques, capital, and personnel came from foreign sources, as the present study reminds us. It was the Best family of Mettenheim in the Rhineland that during the 1840's transferred its small brewing concern to Wisconsin, being drawn to the Milwaukee region by the assurance of ample grain supplies, low taxes, good transportation facilities, and the stream of emigrant letters circulating through the German provinces.

Early in the sixties, Frederick Pabst married into the Best family and soon was admitted to the business as a partner. The same is to be said of Emil Schandein, and it was under the administration of these two young men that the Best or, later, Pabst, enterprise was to experience immense growth, and retain a leading position among many competitors.

The prohibition crusade, the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, and the passing of the Volstead Act constituted a major and, it appeared, a mortal blow to the whole brewing empire in America. After seriously considering total liquidation, the Pabst Company resolved to reorganize its affairs, in the hope that "the common sense of the American people would lead eventually to . . . repeal." In the interim, the firm turned to the manufacture of "near beer," nonalcoholic beverages, and other products.

The early phases of the depression created additional hardships for the already harassed brewers, but modification of the Volstead Act and eventual annulment of the prohibition amendment gave them a unique advantage among the nation's manufacturing and commercial units.

On the whole, it can be said that business corporations have been quite unbusinesslike in preserving records from a sense of their historical value, particularly for the formative and early-development periods. The researcher has to be not only diligent but imaginative in his pursuit and recognition of sources. Professor Cochran has set a sound example of awareness as he has explored and used a vast amount of primary and secondary material. Other writers of this type of

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monograph may gain an excellent idea of what to look for by consulting his study. The editor-author has established a good standard for later contributors to New York University's "Business History Series."

State University of Iowa HARRISON JOHN THORNTON

F.D.R.: HIS PERSONAL LETTERS, 1905–1928. Edited by *Elliott Roosevelt.* Assisted by James N. Rosenau. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1948. Pp. xix, 674. $5.00.)

SINCE Franklin D. Roosevelt was by temperament a man little given to the writing of detailed personal letters, it is no mean achievement to present his life through the medium of his family correspondence. But this is the task Elliott Roosevelt and his talented young assistants have set themselves. The result, in effect an informal biography, is a charming and informative contribution to the literature on Roosevelt.

The second volume covers the formative years in F.D.R.'s early career, from his honeymoon in 1905 to his successful campaign for the New York governorship in 1928. It contains considerable raw material which in total portrays the young career man more graphically than any biography since Ernest K. Lindley's perceptive campaign sketch.

Inevitably, because the picture is drawn through the personal (more specifically, family) letters, it is somewhat distorted. Primarily one sees F.D.R. as a devoted family man, and as a vacationer in a social setting which varies remarkably little from Harvard to the governorship. The young lawyer and state senator, the vice-presidential candidate, and the businessman of the 1920's emerge scarcely at all. A fortunate exception is the invaluable correspondence written while Roosevelt served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson administration.

Although the letters of the naval period continue to focus upon family and social matters, many reflect the young administrator's emergent political philosophy and his ardent advocacy of preparedness. Several contain impatient remarks about the cautious, peace-minded Secretary of the Navy, to whom in later years Roosevelt was to be extremely devoted. Above all, a highly significant sixty-page first-hand account of F.D.R.'s European mission in the summer of 1918 underscores, though somewhat too emphatically, his important role in the war.

The remainder of the volume largely centers upon Roosevelt's infantile paralysis attack and his courageous and persistent struggle to regain use of his legs. It contains ample evidence of the development of his character, but little record of his social philosophy.

Probably because of the scarcity of letters, the editors have included a superabundance of explanatory material. The volume contains some newspaper reports, several of Roosevelt's speeches, and a brief beginning to a history of the

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United States. To the inestimable aid of future researchers, hundreds of persons have been identified, but some whose names appear only once and then incidentally, receive a half-page or more of description. Unfortunately, the index is of a contrasting sketchiness. The editors have regularized spelling and punctuation. (Compare the memorandum on p. 299 with a photograph of it following p. 156.)

On the whole, the editing is accurate. One minor slip has Winston Churchill, the British war leader, rather than the novelist of the same name, lunching with Roosevelt in the summer of 1917. Except for repeated deletion of one name in an early series, the letters seem to appear in complete form, even though a few contain candid remarks about persons still living.

The Roosevelt family's attitude toward the President's personal correspondence is in happy contrast to the reticence, for example, of the Lincoln family. Historians have strong reason to be grateful for such prompt, full, and useful publication.

Vassar College FRANK FREIDEL

THE MEMOIRS OF CORDELL HULL. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xii, 916; vi, 917–1804. $10.50.)

THESE two bulky volumes include a detailed record of the twelve most eventful years of American diplomatic history. Lt. Col. Andrew Berding and a staff of assistants working with the co-operation of Department of State officials collected materials for Secretary Hull's use in the preparation of each chapter. There is much direct quotation of documents and a detailed description of all transactions. The Secretary, however, worked over the material, and the peculiarities of his style are everywhere evident.

Of the more than 1700 pages of text, all but the first 154 are devoted to Hull's service as Secretary of State. Yet the brief account of his first eventful sixty years is the most interesting reading. The hardy life of the Tennessee mountaineers in the post-Civil War period, the sketchy education generally available but augmented in Hull's case by a law course, the evidence of Hull's early ambition and devotion to work, and his entry into politics, makes an interesting story and discloses Hull's outstanding characteristics of industry, integrity, patience, persistence, and shrewdness which combined as he grew up to produce character and wisdom. At the age of nineteen he became chairman of the county Democratic committee and continued in public service until he retired fifty-four years later after serving twelve years as Secretary of State.

He early embraced Jefferson's political philosophy and never swerved from it. He served in the state legislature during the 1890's and in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. After practicing law for a brief period he was appointed to the bench. Elected to Congress in 1906 he served continuously in the House of Representatives with exception of one session until elected to the Senate in 1930.

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He continuously urged tariff reduction and supported the League of Nations during the Wilson period. He served for a time in the 1920's as chairman of the Democratic National Committee and was considered for the presidency in 1924, 1928, and 1932. He admired Woodrow Wilson and was an early supporter of Roosevelt. The latter appointed him Secretary of State and urged him to accept the nomination for the presidency in 1940 until the crisis precipitated by the fall of France convinced the President that he should run for a third term.

His relations with Roosevelt were always ones of mutual respect and confidence. Although Hull was skeptical of many of the New Deal experiments in domestic matters and was not among the inner circle of Roosevelt's advisers, he made most of the decisions on foreign policy. On the few occasions when he was overruled, as at the London Economic Conference early in the administration, he submitted, but generally, as in this case, his policy eventually won out. On a few occasions the President acted without consulting him, as in accepting the modified Morgenthau plan for Germany at Quebec and the three-months' British-Soviet sphere of influence arrangement on the Balkans. This arrangement, which was formally superseded at Yalta after Hull's resignation, lived on in fact to plague relations. Hull disliked the policy of "unconditional surrender" adopted at Roosevelt's initiative in World War II, though he had urged such a policy upon Wilson in World War I (p. 98).

Hull insisted on being boss in his own department and was irritated at the occasional encroachments into the field of foreign affairs by Wallace, Morgenthau, and Ickes. The insubordination of Assistant Secretary of State Moley and Under Secretary of State Welles aroused his ire and resulted in their resignations. He thought highly of Secretaries Stimson and Knox, but he was not in the inner councils on matters concerning the conduct of the war and it was because of the difficulty of distinguishing war policy from foreign policy that decisions were occasionally made by the President in the latter field without his advice. Sherwood's book based on the Hopkins papers throws additional light on President Roosevelt's diplomacy during the war period.

Hull assumed that moral principles applicable to private relations applied equally in international relations. He had confidence in appeals to reason and to principle, but he understood those with whom he dealt and appreciated that force could not always be dispensed with. He was convinced that an international organization adequate to maintain justice was within the realm of human ingenuity and that with such an organization spheres of influence and balances of power would be unnecessary. He stood for the self-determination of dependent peoples, for freer and less discriminatory international trade, and for close collaboration among the American countries.

Hull's respect for principles was moderated in practice by caution, by appreciation of timing and tactics, and by a democratic acceptance of the authority of public and congressional opinion. He complained continuously of the misinformation and isolationism of public opinion and the crippling influence this had

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upon sound foreign policy. Possibly a stronger effort supported by the President to educate and lead public opinion would have gained results, but the experience of the President in the Chicago "quarantine speech" of 1937, raises a doubt. On the whole, both Roosevelt and Hull felt that while the utmost should be done to educate the public, democracy required that its verdict be accepted. Hull did not like the two-thirds rule in the Senate, but he bowed to the Constitution and made the development of a nonpartisan foreign policy a major effort, especially in regard to the United Nations. On this matter there is an interesting discussion of his insistence, against John Foster Dulles, who was representing Republican Candidate Dewey in 1944, that the proper word was "nonpartisan" and not "bipartisan."

With all his ability and industry, was he in fact successful? He did not achieve the aim of maintaining international peace with justice, but readers of his memoirs are likely to agree that the failure was due to circumstances which he could not control and that he deserved the Nobel Peace Prize which was awarded him after his retirement in 1945. During the period before the war he faced an isolationist public opinion which prevented him and the President from taking in time the measures which might have saved the world from the aggressions of Hitler and Japan. His detailed account of the long negotiations with Nomura and Kurusu which ended with Pearl Harbor demolishes the strange argument of the late Charles A. Beard. Acceptance of Japan's demands, writes Hull "would have given us peace—that is, until Japan, after strengthening herself through the concessions we should have made, was ready to move again. But it would have denied all the principles of right living among nations which we had supported; it would have betrayed the countries that later became our allies; and it would have given us an infamous place in history" (p. 1105).

In Hull's own opinion, the greatest triumphs of his career were the signature by the President of the First Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in 1934 and his own signature in 1943 of the Four Power Moscow Declaration instituting the joint policy which led to the creation of the United Nations. America has turned its back on protectionism and isolationism which corrupted the 1920's and paved the way to World War II. If any one man is responsible for that change, it is Cordell Hull.

During the war, Hull contributed to keeping together the coalition which was eventually victorious. The explanation of the policies concerning Vichy, Darlan, DeGaulle, and Franco Spain, all of which he thinks greatly contributed to the war effort, are especially interesting. These policies, as well as the earlier policies concerning the Spanish Civil War embargo, the destroyer deal, and lend-lease, have been highly controversial and it is to be hoped that Hull's straightforward account of these matters will be widely read. Hull never minimized the difficulties of Soviet relations and expected these difficulties to increase when the fighting was over. But he did not consider them insoluble.

The book is full of shrewd characterizations of the men he dealt with—

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Roosevelt, Churchill, Eden, Stalin, Molotov, DeGaulle, Nomura, and Kurusu. His style is straightforward and, occasionally, pungent. He frequently caps a point with a Lincolnesque story.

These memoirs are less easy to read than those recently published by Secretaries Stimson and Byrnes with which they are naturally compared. They however constitute a more complete historical record of the period. Hull was, in many respects, similar to Stimson, but less philosophical and more human. The policies of the two men while Secretary of State, one with a Republican and the other a Democratic administration were similar and they collaborated during the war while Stimson was Secretary of War. Hull was more patient, more influenced by principles, and more flexible in tactics than Byrnes, though the latter was faced by greater difficulties in dealing with Russia after the pressure of a common enemy had ended.

Hull's book will not be read from cover to cover by many, but its voluminous index will assure it continuous reference by students of recent history. It is a worthy monument to a great Secretary of State.

University of Chicago QUINCY WRIGHT

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Volume VIII, JULY 1, 1945–DECEMBER 31, 1946. Edited by *Raymond Dennett* and *Robert K. Turner*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for World Peace Foundation, Boston. 1948. Pp. xxxvii, 962. $6.00.)

THE eighth volume of this now well-known series appears under new editorship and marks a transition from the former July 1 to June 30 coverage to a new calendar year basis. The next volume, covering all of 1947, is expected to appear in the fall of 1949. Pressure of a vast amount of material upon limited space led to a decision to exclude from the present volume documents pertaining to the peace treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, and Finland. These are published in a supplementary volume entitled *The First Five Peace Treaties*.

The transition from war to peace, begun in Volume VII and continued in Volume VIII with documents on the surrender and occupation of Japan, results in the discarding of old and the introduction of new headings for some of the main divisions. Thus "Defense and Prosecution of the War" and "The United Nations in War" are replaced by "The Termination of the War" and "National Defense." The addition of two new headings—"Dependent Areas" and "Cultural Relations"—raises the number of chapters from the fourteen of Volume VII to sixteen. Twelve of the chapters headings remain substantially the same as in the preceding volume. Among the numerous useful items in the new volume the following samplings may be mentioned: lists of the international organizations of which the United States was a member and of the conferences in which it

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participated; tables showing the costs to the United States of World War II in lives, dollars, and lend-lease goods; acts and resolutions by which the United States became a member of the United Nations and accepted compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice; the Draft Trusteeship Agreement for the Japanese Mandated Islands; documents on the control of atomic energy; excerpts from the report of the joint congressional committee to investigate Pearl Harbor; excerpts from the constitution of the International Refugee Organization. Appendixes contain the protocols of proceedings of the Crimea and Berlin conferences of February and July–August, 1945. The reader looks in vain for the 1946 Japanese constitution (certainly a document pertinent to American foreign relations) and for the Russo-Chinese agreements on Port Arthur, Dairen, and the Manchurian railroads. It would have been helpful to insert a footnote relating that the Draft Trusteeship Agreement mentioned above was accepted with slight changes by the Security Council and approved by Congress. Other searchers will of course detect other omissions, but with the limited space at their disposal the editors have made most of their selections judiciously.

University of Buffalo JULIUS W. PRATT

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. Volume I, PLANS AND EARLY OPERATIONS, JANUARY 1939 TO AUGUST 1942. Prepared under the editorship of *Wesley Frank Craven,* New York University, and *James Lea Cate,* University of Chicago, by Office of Air Force History, United States Air Force, Wilfred J. Paul, Colonel, USAF, Director, Albert J. Simpson, Air Force Historian. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. xxxi, 788. $5.00.)

THE publication of this volume is something of an event, for it is the first official history of the United States Army Air Forces. Seven volumes will be required to tell the story of America's air arm in World War II. Edited by W. F. Craven, who recently directed the operational history branch of the Army Air Forces historical office, and J. L. Cate, who served as historical officer of the Twentieth Air Force, the series is a joint undertaking in which many hands have contributed to the final product.

Under the vigorous leadership of Clanton W. Williams, formerly AAF Historian, and ably supported by Col. Wilfred J. Paul, director, the Historical Division of the Army Air Forces collected materials from the four corners of the world. The richness of the Air Force history lies not least in the fact that every squadron had its historian, and at the command and air force level at least four or five men devoted their entire time to assembling historical materials; as a result, a great deal of data for this history has been gathered at first hand.

The present volume deals especially with plans and early operations of the Air Forces, from January, 1939, to August, 1942. Volumes II and III will cover

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the war as it was fought by American forces against Germany and Italy; Volumes IV and V as it was waged against Japan; Volume VI will treat of the home front; and Volume VII will provide an account of the world-wide services, such as the Air Transport Command, and will deal with problems common to all theaters, such as health and morale.

It should be said at once that the decision not to present the history of the Air Forces in a strictly chronological order, but rather in a unified manner, by theaters of operations, was a wise one. For the war was fought on the basis of a unified command, and plans were worked out with respect to the over-all strategy of a theater.

Volume I is divided into four main sections: (1) The Early Heritage; (2) Prelude to War; (3) Tactical Demands; and (4) Preparation for the Air War against Germany. What stands out in the early history of the Air Force is the failure of top political and military leaders in the twenties to grasp the importance of air power. The story, too, of the struggle of the air arm to obtain recognition and finally virtual equality with the ground and naval forces is one of unusual interest. Scarcely less absorbing, and equally significant, is the account of the doctrine of strategic bombing. That the air forces of the United States and Great Britain were not thought of essentially as support for ground troops but as an independent striking force that could reach deep into enemy territory and destroy his industry, power plants, and railroads, is one reason why the Allies won and the Axis lost.

The defeats suffered in the air at Pearl Harbor and in the Philippines, the regrouping in Australia, the establishment of bases in the Fijis and New Caledonia, Doolittle's raid on Tokyo, activities in Burma and China, the beginning of a world-wide system of air transport, and the establishment of the Eighth Air Force in England, are a few of the many topics ably covered in the first volume by nine different authors. The effect of the story in the first volume is one of a magnificent effort attaining goals hardly thought possible by most men in our own generation.

The range of topics covered, the clear interrelation that is shown between command, planning, supply, movement, engineering, and operations of the air forces, the placing of these against the background of the chief political and military events, and the firm grasp of time and space factors, make this history a record of unusual value. This book, furthermore, is characterized by the highest standards of scholarship; it is objective, yet critical. The authors have set as their aim the statement of General Marshall, that "it is very important that the true facts, the causes and consequences that make our military history, should be matters of common knowledge." The mistakes as well as the achievements have been reported.

Seventy-three pages of notes, containing references to supporting documents, ranging all the way from radio messages, unit histories, Joint Chiefs of Staff directives to personal interviews, may serve to indicate the massive array of evi-

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dence that stands behind the 688-page narrative. In addition to thirty-one maps and charts, a glossary of terms, three appendixes, and an index, there are sixty-two illustrations.

The first volume of the history of the Army Air Forces should prove to be as indispensable to the political scientist, especially to the student of public administration, as it will be to the staff officer in the Air, War, and Navy colleges. The supreme lesson taught here is that, other things being equal, victory will go to him who most effectively combines imagination, courage, and flexibility.

University of Minnesota BENJAMIN E. LIPPINCOTT

AMERICAN FORCES IN ACTION SERIES. By the Historical Division, Department of the Army. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1943–48.) TO BIZERTE WITH THE II CORPS. (Pp. viii, 80. 45 cents.) PAPUAN CAMPAIGN. (Pp. viii, 108. 55 cents.) SALERNO. (Pp. viii, 96. 60 cents.) FROM THE VOLTURNO TO THE WINTER LINE. (Pp. viii, 120. 35 cents.) MERRILL'S MARAUDERS. (Pp. viii, 120. 40 cents.) FIFTH ARMY AT THE WINTER LINE. (Pp. x, 118. 35 cents.) OMAHA BEACHHEAD. (Pp. viii, 168. $1.75.) THE ADMIRALTIES. (Pp. viii, 152. 40 cents.) GUAM. (Pp. viii, 136. 45 cents.) THE CAPTURE OF MAKIN. (Pp. viii, 136. 35 cents.) SMALL UNIT ACTIONS. (Pp. xii, 212. $1.25.) ST-LÔ. (Pp. viii, 128. $1.25.) ANZIO BEACHHEAD. (Pp. viii, 122. $1.50.) UTAH BEACH TO CHERBOURG. (Pp. xii, 216. $2.00.)

THESE fourteen booklets, published between 1943 and 1948 by the Historical Division of the Department of the Army, merit more consideration than they have received from historians. The series began as books "for military personnel only" and mainly for wounded men in hospital, the object being to give these men a better understanding of the fighting in which they had taken part. Later the books were put on the open market, and in spite of very limited publicity nearly 150,000 copies have been sold to Americans interested in reading sober and reliable accounts of their army's campaigns.

There is room, of course, for two opinions about the writing of contemporary history. In the past, historians, particularly official historians, have been reluctant to embark upon writing the history of wars until all, or nearly all, the returns are in and—incidentally—many of the participants are dead. In such conditions the historian can certainly command a "truer perspective" and it must in charity be assumed that it was the expectation of this advantage, and not mere lack of enterprise or fear of criticism, that led scholars in so many countries to hold their hands so long after 1918. In taking this attitude, however, it can be argued that they failed in an obligation to the public. Would scholars of today be justified in leaving contemporary history entirely to the journalists? This series of books proves that the historian, accepting the fact that in writing close to the events he

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condemns himself to the use of incomplete sources, can nevertheless bring the techniques of scholarship to bear upon those sources and produce a result which, however far from finality, can be read with confidence and provide a sound foundation for further investigation.

The series is of course far from covering the whole effort of the United States Army in the war; it treats only some of the important episodes. It was necessary to suspend it to avoid interference with production of the more definitive history which is already beginning to appear. The volumes produced during the war are necessarily thinner in content than the later ones, which draw upon richer sources, are less hindered by security considerations, and are more elaborately produced (and therefore, alas, more expensive). The series as a whole is, inevitably, weakest in dealing with Allied strategy and high policy, and with enemy operations; for on these matters documents become available slowly. (The treatment of the enemy is much fuller in the later volumes, even though the main reliance is still documents captured during the war.) On the "tactical level" the volumes are excellent, and the tactical story, after all, is what they profess to tell. The Historical Division makes only the most modest claims for them, but this reviewer will be surprised if their accounts of American operations are modified in many important particulars by subsequent research. On matters which he can check from his own knowledge he has found few errors, and those minor; the general standard of accuracy is certainly high. Here and there the reader comes across the traces of an extraordinarily painstaking piece of investigation. A notable example is the two maps in *Utah Beach to Cherbourg* on which is plotted the position where every "stick" of American paratroopers came down on D Day; one shudders at the thought of the work that must lie behind them.

Lacking space to examine the volumes individually, the reviewer must be content to mention the series' general characteristics. It is admirably judicial; scrupulously fair to the allies of the United States (which is more than can be said for a good many of the journalists) and balanced in its comments on the enemy. Its style is plain and straightforward, its language almost always comprehensible by unmilitary readers. Occasionally there is very effective use of quotation; particularly absorbing are the descriptions by participants of the Normandy hedgerow fighting in *St-Lô*. The illustrations, undistinguished in the earlier volumes, are remarkably effective in the more recent ones. It would be hard to find better examples of the use of the camera as the handmaid of history. As for the very numerous maps, they are of the highest order. It seems a pity however that the official United States conventional military symbols are used throughout (and never explained), for the result is to render these splendid maps' standard of intelligibility to the general reader somewhat lower than that of the text.

The little books as printed are not documented (to have provided a clumsy *apparatus criticus* would have defeated the object of the series); but the Historical Division holds documented manuscripts. In spite of the absence of references, stu-

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dents of the war have recognized them as serious and valuable contributions to its history. Historians who are not students of the war might usefully study the series as a bold and successful experiment in the difficult art of writing sound contemporary history for the public at large.

Historical Section, General Staff,
Army Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada C. P. Stacey

CHAMPLAIN: THE LIFE OF FORTITUDE. By *Morris Bishop.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. 364, vii. $4.00.)

Anyone who has been concerned with the parts which Champlain played in the foundation of Canada and the United States will be grateful for this unpretentious but thoroughly informed and judicious book. Those who have not may both profit and pleasure themselves by reading it, for it is witty as well as wise. Literary skill of a high order has portrayed and penetrated the enigmatic personality of Champlain in the adventurous yet painstaking career which made him the great pioneer in the occupation of North America. Mr. Bishop has taken enough time and thought to make his readers intimate with Champlain; aware of what he did, why, and how it must have felt to do it; and appreciative of his relation to the course of events in North America and in Europe. Professional historians, who owe this achievement to the chairman of the department of romance literature at Cornell, might well beg him to remedy another of their sins of omission by giving them a similar biography of LaSalle.

The personal portrait is convincing, made up of an infinity of the small brushstrokes permitted by evidence of action rather than of musing and speculation. Champlain was an adventurous, good man, driven by passionate curiosity and geographical imagination. He was practical enough to come to terms with the European economic enterprises and the Indian alignments which enabled him to spend most of thirty-seven years in America, but he was also a devout sharer in the great missionary enterprise of the Counter Reformation, and he labored to realize his vision of justice between men, Indians as well as Europeans.

Historically, of course, Champlain founded Canada, but in the process of learning how and where to do that, after numerous failures by predecessors all along the Atlantic Coast, he set other forces in motion as well. The years he spent in Nova Scotia and New England produced superb maps of the coast which other men like Captain John Smith used without acknowledgment. The fur trade and the missionary enterprise which he gradually focused in the St. Lawrence spread reverberations which during his lifetime extended from the Atlantic to Sault Ste. Marie and from New York to Hudson Bay, and which persisted over most of North America in the great rivalry between France and England and their native collaborators in trade and war.

The book suffers little from the lack of conventionally full footnote references,

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for the author takes space to indicate and discuss controversy or to cite unfamiliar references; his illustrations are for use; and his map is excellent. His indignation over American failure to commemorate the original settlement on Dochet Island in the Ste. Croix River might have been balanced by acknowledgment of Canada's visible pieties in the matter.

Columbia University J. B. BREBNER

THE FALL OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN EMPIRE. By *Salvador de Madariaga.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. viii, 443. $5.00.)

THE author sometimes goes far afield to present his views concerning the separation of the American colonies from Spain. In his discussion of the American Revolution, of the activities of the Jesuits and the Freemasons, and of the influence of foreign philosophers in the Spanish Indies, Madariaga deals with topics which he had already considered in his *Cuadro histórico de las Indias.* His account contains brilliant, erudite, and provocative observations which at times are misleading. With respect to the causes of the Revolution in the thirteen colonies, he ventures the remark that its seeds were planted by the Second Continental Congress. Of the mysterious role of the Masons in the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, he alleges, as does a masonic writer, that some prominent revolutionaries were Masons. He reasons that the most influential European philosopher in the Spanish Indies was Rousseau, "the apostle of anarchy." He asserts that Abbé Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique* was found during the colonial regime "in every private library from Mexico to Buenos Aires." Although he touches upon many interesting features of cultural history, yet he does not describe the circulation of political philosophy emanating from the United States.

His discussion of human factors and of disruptive influences in the Spanish Indies is followed by accounts of sporadic uprisings there, such as the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro against Spanish rule, the struggles of the Basques and the Creoles for the political control of Potosí, the Paraguayan civil war in which José Antequera figured, the insurrection of the *comuneros* in New Granada, and the revolt of Tupac Amaru in Peru. Evidently Madariaga is a defender of the thesis that the struggles for the independence of the Spanish colonies would eventually have occurred without any external provocation. Perhaps that is why he does not dwell upon the role played by Napoleon, whose intrusion into Spain precipitated a series of rebellions in the Spanish Indies. By a study of the distant past the author undertakes to discover the motives of the revolutionaries who took part in the far-flung separatist movement which devastated Spanish America from 1810 to 1824.

In one place Madariaga asserts that the "wars of secession," as he styles them, were "a recoil from the conquest." In another place he states that on the Spanish side the uprisings were caused by "the duel of ambitions and civil war." On a

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certain page he explains that the hidden impulse of the great leaders sprang from two roots in the Spanish character, namely, "dictatorship and separatism." On another page he reasons that the secessionary wars marked the last clash between two antagonistic forces, "attachment to the Crown and inter-color solidarity rooted in the earth." Elsewhere, speaking of the Creole revolutionists, he declares that they made "a bee line for the immediate satisfaction of their political passion, which they saw as hunger for national freedom, but which was also hunger for power." Lastly, he decides that the root of it was "in the Spanish character as well as in the dispersive conditions of the immense and broken continent."

With regard to the Black Legend, on this occasion Madariaga seems to have left his lance in the rack. He mentions Simón Bolívar (whose biography he is supposed to be writing) very briefly. He does not discuss the "War to the Death," the Plan of Iguala, or the mysterious conference at Guayaquil. He ignores the battles of San Lorenzo, Carabobo, Boyacá, Chacabuco, Junín, and Ayacucho. Nor does he explain why Spain did not even begin to recognize the independence of her lost colonies until 1836. In reality this sequel to the *Rise of the Spanish American Empire* is chiefly concerned with antecedents of the wars for Spanish-American independence.

University of Illinois WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

THE PROPER STUDY OF MANKIND: AN INQUIRY INTO THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN RELATIONS. By *Stuart Chase*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. xx, 311, $3.00.) This book is primarily a tract to expound and defend the idea that at last some methods are emerging that give to various social studies the importance and dignity of true sciences. It argues, too, that we not only can utilize these new sciences in the direction of human experience but indeed must do so if we are to save our skins. For the historian, *The Proper Study of Mankind* is enormously suggestive. It is intended not as a summary of all the newer work in anthropology, semantics, statistics, psychiatry, and economics but only as a kind of sampling of recent achievements in these and allied fields. At every point it underlines the immensity of nonlogical and nonrational behavior. That older abstraction, Rational Man, so beloved by historians, is reduced in stature. The historian has ever found his fresh insights in mastering the content and method of other crafts and in then adapting them to historical study. The objective contributions of the critical historian studying economic institutions, for example, have altered our perspectives and enriched our understanding. His work, like that of the student of political institutions, is not to be despised or discarded. But it seems probable that the "newer viewpoints" of our time will be found along the psychological frontiers of society. The social historian and the intellectual historian, still distraught with the problems of building a credible method, may find at this horizon paths that lead him away from guesswork, taxonomy, and subjectivism.

THOMAS LE DUC, *Oberlin College*

REGISTER OF RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PROGRESS AND IN PLAN. No. 5, 1947–48. Edited by *Feodora Stone*. (London, Cambridge University Press for the National Institute of Economic and Social Research; distributed in U.S.A. by Chicago University Press, 1948, pp. 104, $3.15.) This register, prepared by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research in London under the editorial direction of Feodora Stone, its secretary, gives a listing of the work as it is being carried on in the universities in the British Isles. It includes the fields which we generally group together under social science and adds education, geography, and social medicine. Its coverage in history is limited to two rubrics: "Economic and Social History," and "Political Science and Public Administration," which has a subheading "History." This severely limits the reporting in history so that no true picture of research in general and politico-constitutional history can be found. Under social and economic history eighteen postdoctoral and twenty-five doctoral projects are listed (pp. 39–42). Under "Political Science: History," eight of the former and twenty-one of the latter (pp. 59–61), are catalogued. Under the first rubric most of the topics are economic. Neither category gives evidence of more than scattered, individual projects. There is included a convenient directory of institutions, universities, research institutions, learned bodies, and other organizations at which this work is in progress. A similar compilation in the United States would be very useful though of necessity much larger than the 104 pages which this handbook contains.

ROY F. NICHOLS, *Trinity College, Cambridge, England*

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SCIENCE AND ITS BACKGROUND. By *H. D. Anthony*. (London and New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. ix, 304, $3.00.) A collision with this book should open the seams and start a leak in the partitions of any mind which has science and the humanities in separated compartments. In less than 300 very readable pages the author, who has a distinguished record of experience in science education at the school level and in the British army, presents a view of the whole development of the ideas and methods of scientific work from the Sumerians and Babylonians to Darwin, Mendel, Rutherford, and Jeans. The picture is broad but the details are sharp; attention is focused successively on the work of individual men of science selected by reason of the value of their work and ideas in the world of today. The biographical features tend to limit the remoteness of contact, but the background is not isolated people, it is the broad sweep of the history of human affairs. The sense of relatedness is enhanced visually for the reader by a series of time-charts giving names and events in three columns, headed "Action: Knowledge: Vision." To quote the preface: "These three are interwoven, and in the following pages the strand of knowledge, as developed by men of science, is not separated from that of action, as represented in history, or that of vision, in the realm of ideals. . . . The following is an attempt to state simply, and within the limits of a small volume, some of the achievements of science as a whole, in relation to the background of history, the progress of European civilization, and the life of today." This large aim in small compass has been achieved remarkably well. Discussions in the latter part of the book deal interestingly not only with the background for science but also the foreground, and even point toward the future in a stimulating way. Perhaps the most important subtle effect of this book on the reader is the quiet recognition of the constant role of belief in the development of scientific knowledge. Too many people today view the "exact sciences" as divorced from belief and based only on reason, demonstration and facts somehow external to human beings. "The twentieth century . . . has also witnessed a growing tolerance concerning those matters of belief and experience which lie beyond the apparent world of Nature; the truly scientific attitude involves a recognition of its own limitations." No thoughtful person can read this book without enlarging both his humility and his self-respect as a human being. Perhaps a little too much emphasis is placed on the contributions of British scientists during the past one hundred years, but this is understandable, as are some minor points as to exact dates. This book may have been written for school-age readers, but it provokes at any age thought and contemplation, eased by the simplicity and directness of the presentation.

M. A. Tuve, *Carnegie Institution of Washington*

THE NAMING OF THE TELESCOPE. By *Edward Rosen*. Foreword by Harlow Shapley. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1947, pp. xvi, 110, $2.50.) The modern working astronomer is likely to be little concerned with who invented the telescope, still less with who originated the name. Nevertheless, he can read the little work under review with pleasure for its own sake and as an illustration of the difference between astronomical and historical research. We can accept the author's conclusion as the last word, namely, that the term *telescopio* was originally devised by the Greek, John Demisiani of Cephalonia, and publicly unveiled by Frederick Cesi at the banquet in Galileo's honor in Rome on April 14, 1611. As is well known, Galileo was not the first inventor of the telescope, but his revolutionary observations of the heavenly bodies brought everlasting renown to him and his little tubes. Despite the fact that *telescopio* was first applied to Galileo's device with two refracting lenses, in later Italian usage this term was reserved for the instrument with a primary reflecting mirror. Galileo himself first used *occhiale* or optical lens, which was later

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changed by some of his countrymen to *cannocchiale* or optical tube. In fact, on the jacket of Dr. Rosen's book we find the classic picture of the first telescopes on their quaint stand which are labeled in modern Italian works as the *due cannocchiali di Galileo.* JOEL STEBBINS, *Lick Observatory, Mount Hamilton, California*

VICTOR ROBINSON MEMORIAL VOLUME: ESSAYS ON HISTORY OF MEDICINE. Edited by *Solomon R. Kagan.* (New York, Froben Press, 1948, pp. 447, $10.00.) The varied contributions to this memorial volume give even the reader who did not know Victor Robinson suggestive hints of the vivid personality which could draw to him friends with so many different interests within the field of the history of medicine. Here in a rather uneven collection are reflective essays and penetrating scholarly solutions to historical problems together with reports of medical pilgrimages and biographical sketches, all attesting to a noteworthy interest in history among many of the medical profession. Indeed, to the general historian, the number of contributors who are not professors of medical history encourages faith that the study of history can offer deep satisfactions to the intelligent and serious amateur. Since there are 42 contributors, space will not allow even a full list of their names nor of the titles of the 38 articles in this collection. Admitting the unfairness of a partial and personal selection, I would like to mention some of the articles which may interest the general historian. In "Cinchona and Malaria in Pre-Columbian South America," E. H. Ackerknecht correlates on the one hand the paradox that although the first drug of value in treating malaria came from South America it was apparently not part of native medical lore, and on the other hand the probability that malaria was introduced by the white invaders. Medievalists will be interested in Curt Proskauer's "Six Illustrations to Stomatological Texts in an Avicenna Manuscript of the XIV Century," with reproductions of the miniatures showing doctors, students, and patients. George Rosen finds significant information in "Two Nineteenth Century Medical Examination Papers." Aspects of American social history are touched in C. E. Heaton's "John Wakefield Francis—a Doctor of Old New York," T. H. Shastid's "The Blue Glass Craze," M. I. Roemer's "Historical Development of the Current Crisis of Rural Medicine in the United States," and George Urdang's "One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of the United States Pharmacopeia." Robinson, himself, is one of the many scholars discussed in H. A. Savitz' paper on "Jewish Medical Historians." To Victor Robinson, the whole volume is a sincere tribute.
ROBERT C. STAUFFER, *University of Wisconsin*

THE RANKS OF DEATH: A MEDICAL HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA. By the late Colonel *P. M. Ashburn.* Edited by *Frank D. Ashburn.* (New York, Coward-McCann, 1947, pp. xix, 298, $5.00.) For many years prior to his death, the late Colonel Ashburn, at one time librarian of the Army Medical Library, had been accumulating material on the influence of disease on the conquest of the Americas. Death interrupted what was basically a lifetime task, but fortunately a preliminary and abbreviated manuscript had been prepared containing the salient data in semi-popular form. Colonel Ashburn's son, a scholar in his own right, has prepared the manuscript for publication and inserted appropriate editorial comments which add greatly to the value of the volume. After a few introductory chapters which essentially set the scene for the volume, there follows a series of essays devoted to the effect of particular diseases or disease groups. Special attention is given to famine and nutritional diseases, to smallpox, malaria, yellow fever, and to syphilis; other diseases less important in their effect on the conquest are treated more briefly. The story is

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presented as a military operation in which disease was one of the most potent offensive forces—a sort of unintentional long-range bacteriological warfare. The author stresses the role that disease played in facilitating the colonization and conquest of all parts of the Americas through weakening the resistance of the native inhabitants, who might otherwise have maintained a more effective opposition to the invaders. At the same time, emphasis is given to the simultaneous though less serious effect of disease on the military strength of the conquering Europeans. Colonel Ashburn has written not only a popular volume, readily understood by the layman, but also a valuable and scholarly addition to medical history. The story is accurate, well documented, and critically presented. It is a reliable appraisal of the effect of disease in the conquest of the Americas and at the same time a valuable record of certain diseases during the early years of American colonization. The book is further noteworthy for its literary style. In this period when the beauty of written English has been lost in a craze for the unorthodox, and style has been subordinated, it is a real pleasure to read a volume that is so truly well written. The editor's introductions to the several chapters are works of beauty and models of writing, which in themselves well repay the reader of this volume.

GAYLORD W. ANDERSON, M.D., *University of Minnesota*

POLITICS AMONG NATIONS: THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND PEACE. By *Hans J. Morgenthau,* Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, pp. xv, 489, xix, trade $5.50, text $4.25.) According to the publishers this volume has been adopted by many educational institutions for purposes of course instruction. One can only shudder at the thought of the college undergraduate, rattle in hand, toddling into the jungle of present and recent historical international relations so vividly reflected in Professor Morgenthau's pages. Indeed one of the principal contentions of the author is that international politics is precisely a jungle. With this there can be much agreement, although it seems to this reviewer that the author exaggerates the lack of light and air and order and agreed pathways therein; to some extent, indeed, the volume appears to be a massive effort toward intellectual and practical reaction in the style of that curious mixture of mysticism and obscurantism with excessively abstract theory characteristic of much Central European thought in political and legal science. Concretely it appears that the volume abounds in misreading of fact and lack of clarity of thought, often imposed upon the author precisely by his instinctive appreciation of the international situation, an appreciation which is quite sound in quality but seems excessive in its intensity. At some points the confusion or imprecision appears to be chiefly of a verbal character: surely the term "international" in the titles of parts four, five, and six should be "national"? In several sections of the volume with whose subject matter the reviewer feels particularly familiar there is thus a sustained effect as of parallax, although it is never serious enough to destroy entirely the value of the commentary. For this reviewer would by no means wish to be understood as suggesting that this volume be discarded or ignored. It embodies a serious and a powerful challenge to all students of international law and organization and to students of the history of international relations. It also contains at the very end (pp. 439–45) a limited program of practical action consisting of items the beautiful clarity, soundness, and value of which are very striking. Apparently the author does not believe, however, that such empirical wisdom can be employed in connection with the development of international law and administration; when he deals with these aspects of international relations the author becomes excessively logical and aprioristic, if such

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a term may be employed. Happily, history indicates that a combination of the experimental method and a moderate degree of rationalism are not incompatible or unfruitful. But, again, this is no volume for an undergraduate or a "lay" reader.

PITMAN B. POTTER, *American University*

AMERICA IN GREECE: A TRADITIONAL POLICY. By *David Robinson.* (New York, Anatolia Press, 1948, pp. 195, $3.50.) One may rightly complain that the title of this book proves to be either too ambitious or misleading. This is a collection of very miscellaneous documents concerning the struggle for Greek Independence in the 1820's, preceded by eight pages of testimonial by the editor, and skipping a century or so to close with President Truman's message on Greek and Turkish aid.

RICHARD H. HEINDEL, *Washington, D. C.*

SELECTED PAPERS OF ROBERT C. BINKLEY. Edited with a Biographical Sketch and a Bibliography by *Max H. Fisch,* Professor of Philosophy, University of Illinois. With a Foreword by Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. xiii, 426, $5.00.) This is a remarkable volume of the selected papers of a scholar who was outstanding in the generation of young American historians who fought in World War I, and who later with a touch of genius grasped the political and social problems of its aftermath. In an excellent foreword, Luther H. Evans pays tribute to Binkley's achievements as a historian who was possessed of rare culturally creative traits and also praises his enduring contribution to the work of the Historical Records Survey. Max H. Fisch's introduction, entitled "Robert Cedric Binkley, Historian in the Long Armistice," is a perfect example of the short biography which presents the personal life, the creative work, the major impressions and the penetrating thoughts of a many-sided scholar. The essays, articles, and book reviews reprinted in this volume have been selected by Professor Fisch to represent those major phases of Binkley's work which have not been more definitively covered in his books. An exhaustive chronological bibliography of the published writings of Robert C. Binkley illustrates the difficulties of selection which confronted the editor. Thus Binkley's graphic story of the *Libre Belgique,* published 1920, and his scholarly analysis of the *Hoover War Library,* published 1925, are not included. Part I, entitled "The Peace that Failed," presents Binkley's research concerning the war-guilt clause of the Versailles Treaty and his three major articles on peace conference history. Part II, entitled "The Economy of Scholarship," includes "The Problem of Perishable Paper," read at the First World Congress of Libraries and Bibliography, Rome, June 1929; "New Tools for Men of Letters," "History for a Democracy," and "Strategic Objectives in Archival Policy." Part III, entitled "Ideas and Institutions," contains "The Twentieth Century Looks at Human Nature," "An Anatomy of Revolution," "Myths of the Twentieth Century," and "Mill's Liberty Today." Excerpts from his reviews and review articles which include "some of his best writing" are appended. "Returning to Stanford in 1920, Binkley registered in the department of history and assisted in organizing the materials in the Hoover Collection." This is a striking understatement by the editor of the important contribution which Robert Binkley made to the development of the Hoover Library from July, 1919, to 1927. He was of inestimable help to the first group of graduate students and visiting professors who came to do research in the rapidly expanding Hoover collection. Moreover, it was during this period of his career that he became interested in the problems of perishable paper and the possibilities of microfilming research materials. Binkley was fascinated by the philosophic problems involved in twentieth century notions of national responsibility for aggressive war and

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of truth by assize or convention. He wrote, 1938, "In terms of the intellectual tradition of science it is absurd—fantastic—to hold that an historical fact can be verified by procuring a signature to a negotiated instrument or by compelling a formal admission by public authority." "Free living as Mill saw it and as we must see it today," he commented in the same year, "is not separable from free thinking." He was at the same time a firm believer in the necessity of a new world order. "The first [technique] is the promotion of a religion of internationalism and international solidarity by which the religions of nationalism are to be confronted and overcome. . . . From an effective world religion to an effective world state would be only a step." Robert Cedric Binkley's untimely death at the age of forty-two closed a scholarly career of unusual promise and of definite achievements in several related fields of knowledge. This volume of his selected papers will be of especial value to historians, librarians and other scholars who will find "the whole range of his work and thought laid before them." RALPH HASWELL LUTZ, *Stanford University*

L'ESPAGNE DE FRANCO. By *François Mirandet.* (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 287, 250 fr.) Mirandet, who by his years of residence has acquired an intimate knowledge of Spain, writes a useful and entertaining analysis of the country during the past decade. He likes and admires the Spaniards, but has few good words for the Franco regime. With no sign of ideological axe-grinding on his own part, he shows how the Spaniards, always a nation of individualists, have managed to resist becoming mentally regimented while living under a dictatorship. Many pages are devoted to the sorry role played by the Franco regime in the war years following the fall of France. Mirandet, as a Frenchman, keenly enjoys in retrospect the wrong guessing of the Spanish government which sought the right moment for entering the war. The right moment in this case meant about two weeks before England's anticipated surrender to Hitler. Even more obvious is the author's enjoyment of Franco's dawning realization that the moment would never come and that Spain must somehow get into the Allies' good graces. Russia, says Mirandet, has largely accomplished this task for Franco. Stalin, by taking Hitler's place as the chief menace to the Anglo-Saxon powers, has made the Spanish ruler seem less objectionable than he did a few years ago. Turning to the internal picture of Spain, Mirandet explains that Franco has never received a true mandate from anyone to govern the country. The monarchist generals who started the 1936 revolution chose him as leader only after General Sanjurjo's death in a plane crash. As they have reminded him more than once, they meant his power to last only through the military phase of the revolution. Franco has half-alienated the Monarchist party, clinging to personal power but leaving the door partly open for a royal restoration. His own organized supporters, the *Falangistas,* do not have the respect of the army, and, despite their vaunted piety, really care little about the church. And, though the church supports Franco in return for a privileged position, Mirandet feels that ultimately it will lose rather than gain by this strong backing of a regime millions of Spaniards detest. Franco, being a rather colorless man, does not make a good target for the jokes and stories Spaniards love to tell. But all the qualifications are possessed by the dictator's energetic brother-in-law, Serrano Suñer, who is known as *El Cuñadissimo,* "the super brother-in-law." CHARLES E. NOWELL, *University of Illinois*

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Ancient History[1]

T. Robert S. Broughton

LES GALLO-ROMAINS. By *Émile Thevenot.* ["Que sais-je?" no. 314.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1948, pp. 125.) Written for the popular French series "Que sais-je," Émile Thevenot's slight volume is of primary interest to the educated layman rather than the expert. In the brief compass of 125 pages the author sketches the story of Gaul and the Gallo-Romans from the successes of Caesar to the swarming of the barbarians in the fifth century. Thevenot has covered these five centuries in four chapters of equal length: the administration of Gaul; its economic life and development; its intellectual, moral, and religious changes; the impact of the fourth century invasions on Gaul, and the end of the empire. On the whole it is an interesting and enthusiastic account of the period. And while it would be unfair to hold the author too closely to some of his generalizations, yet the student, amateur or professional, of Sully or Colbert may take exception to his conclusion, that "the Gallo-Romans had attained, in this brilliant epoch, an economic status comparable in many respects to that of modern France, before the construction of railroads." A useful though highly selective and almost exclusively French bibliography is appended. FRANCIS N. ESTEY, *Princeton University*

THE PAGEANT OF INDIA'S HISTORY. Volume I. By *Gertrude Emerson Sen.* (New York, Longmans, Green, 1948, pp. xii, 431, $4.50.) "In its long history, India has many times been thrown into a chaos of rival states, bits of a jigsaw puzzle al-

[1] Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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most impossible to fit together in any orderly pattern, but has also known long periods of brilliant and unified empires." Recognizing these general characteristics of Indian history, the author has tried to present its important features from the time of Mohenjo-daro to the days of imperial Guptas, *i.e.*, from 3000 B.C. to 650 A.D. The book is written in a very simple and clear style, giving essential facts regarding Indian history of the period, based on recent archaeological discoveries and researches of Indian and Western scholars. While discussing the rise and fall of the Maurya and Gupta dynasties, the history of kingdoms of southern India, and the achievements of great empire builders such as Asoka and Harsha, the author does not neglect the historical factors of incursions of alien invaders since the days of the appearance of the Aryans and their assimilation by the Hindus. The most important feature of the work is the brilliant presentation within a very short compass of the cultural history of India. The work gives considerable information about ancient India's intercourse with Alexandria, Rome, and the West in general, as well as China's Han dynasty. In the chapter "A Golden Age of Civilization" the author, among other things, discusses the cultural influence of India on Arab civilization, which in its turn has given so much to the West and to the world. In the chapter "Indian Culture beyond the Seas" the author treats at considerable length the migration of Indians to Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indo-China, and Indonesia and the implantation of Indian culture in these regions which, culturally, may be regarded as parts of "greater India." This chapter also contains some information on Indian art, architecture, and music, as well as the literature of the period. There is not a single footnote in this work, but a bibliography of principal sources upon which the work is based is given at the end. This will help serious students who are interested in carrying on a more thorough study of the subject. Several excellent maps, illustrations, and an index make the work attractive and valuable. The book will be useful to the general public and to teachers interested in the early history of India, and it may serve as a textbook for this period of Indian history.

TARAKNATH DAS, *Columbia University and New York University*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE CAPTURE OF DAMIETTA. By *Oliver of Paderborn*. Translated by *John J. Gavigan*. [University of Pennsylvania, Department of History, Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, Third Series, Volume II.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948, pp. ix, 112, $1.25.) This volume, the second in the new series of translations and reprints that is now being issued by the University of Pennsylvania, maintains and enhances the great tradition of scholarly service which that group of studies has long supported. For the *Capture of Damietta* by Oliver of Paderborn is not only one of the essential accounts in the general history of the crusades, but is also, in itself, the most important single source for that of the "Fifth" Crusade. Furthermore, and to add to the merit of the book as a whole, the translator of this important chronicle has been singularly successful in translating somewhat difficult medieval Latin into English which, though clear and readable, remains extraordinarily close, in quality and flavor, to the original. The author of this work was, however, in the opinion of this reviewer, no simple cleric, like Fulcher of Chartres, with whom the editor of this chronicle has chosen to compare him. Though all that he writes is marked by more or less the same gentle and unquestioning piety which is likewise apparent in Fulcher's whole outlook, he was, nevertheless, a learned scholar, a bishop and prelate of the church, and, finally, cardinal of St. Sabina. Yet even so, he was obviously unable to summon in his account of the capture of Damietta more than a small amount, at best, of the sophistication and skill in the use of Latin which William of Tyre, who wrote a generation earlier, could draw on so freely and fully. Such, indeed, was the loyalty of Oliver to his ecclesiastical superiors that it was impossible for him to criticize even their purely secular activities; and in this respect, the editor of the chronicle which Oliver left behind him is fully justified in comparing him with Fulcher of Chartres. Nevertheless, and in spite of so much bias on Oliver's part, his thoroughly honest account of the events which took place around him serves to reveal in plain fashion how hard, if not impossible, it was for the ecclesiastical authorities who were then in charge of the crusade to conduct so secular an enterprise as a war, even a war against infidels. For however clear it may

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be that Oliver's loyalty to the legate who was in command of the expedition against Damietta rested, at bottom, on the same genuine religious zeal which caused that legate, in turn, to refer every important decision to the pope at Rome, it is equally apparent that victories are not won by way of any such complicated involvements. The reviewer is forced to agree with the editor that the hierarchical entanglements of its leadership led to the ultimate failure of the expedition. For including in this edition of the work so many helpful footnotes and so complete a biography, the editor, the translator, and the University of Pennsylvania deserve special commendation. But they likewise deserve the even warmer appreciation of scholars for offering this volume in full.

A. C. KREY, *University of Minnesota*

STREET LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By *G. T. Salusbury*. (2d ed.; Oxford, Pen-in-Hand, 1948, pp. 213, 8*s*. 6*d*.) This small volume should prove useful for supplementary reading in school and college courses in medieval history. Unlike many writers on medieval street life, Mr. Salusbury does not deal with the quaint and the unusual, even though they are more colorful, but with the prosaic tasks of everyday: the repair of the streets; the problems of traffic, street cleaning, and hygiene; the maintenance of law and order. Utilizing printed municipal records for the most part, the author has carefully documented his statements and has given a full bibliography of authorities consulted. The presentation is orderly and matter-of-fact, embellished occasionally with quotations from the sources. In a last chapter, "Time and Tune," Mr. Salusbury presents the ebb and flow of street life in an ordinary day, from the first bell at daybreak to the last bell at curfew. The volume has an excellent index, but unhappily not one illustration. Undoubtedly illustrations would have increased the costs of publication, but they would have heightened interest in the text, particularly for the youthful student.

ISABEL R. ABBOTT, *Rockford College*

AUS RHEINISCHER UND FRÄNKISCHER FRÜHZEIT. By *Wilhelm Levison*. (Düsseldorf, L. Schwann, 1948, pp. 640.) This collection of thirty-three articles and critical reviews by Levison should have been presented to him as a tribute on his seventieth birthday in May, 1946, by a group of friends and former students in Bonn. Economic conditions in western Germany, however, delayed publication for two years, so that Levison, who died on January 17, 1947, did not live to see the printed volume. But he had been told of the project on his last birthday and before his death supplied the editor, Walter Holtzmann, with valuable bibliographical notes, to bring the older articles up to date. These are added in the present volume between square brackets. Most of these essays are in the fields of historical study which Levison had made peculiarly his own, early medieval hagiography and the history of the Franks. Their republication is particularly welcome, because nine of them appeared originally in *Festschriften* that are not easily accessible and many of the remainder in journals of which complete files are found only in the best equipped European and American libraries. The longest essay, "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-legende" (pp. 390–465), was Levison's contribution to the *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle,* published in 1924. It is a masterly study of the different versions that survive of the "Acts of St Sylvester" and their interrelation. Next in length is the essay, "Bede as a Historian" (pp. 347–82), composed in English for the volume, *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings,* edited by A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1935), which commemorated the twelve-hundredth anniversary of Bede's death. Of almost equal length is a discussion (pp. 567–609) of the genuine and forged versions of Rimbert's *Life of Anskar*. Four shorter articles (pp. 304–45) are devoted to the

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life and influence of St Willibrord. Another, "Die Jenseitsvisionen des frühen Mittelalters" (pp. 229–46), is of unusual interest; for it demonstrates how visions, which began by being purely subjective experiences of an individual, might in time exert an influence on contemporary political affairs or even be used frankly for purposes of propaganda. Space forbids mentioning by name other essays in this book, but even the shortest will repay study. A short biography of Levison and an appreciation of his work as scholar and teacher, together with a bibliography of his writings and a list of doctoral dissertations completed under his direction between 1910 and 1937, complete this stimulating volume which no serious student of western Europe during the early Middle Ages can afford to neglect.

M. L. W. Laistner, *Cornell University*

PEST OG PRISFALL I SENMIDDELALDEREN: ET PROBLEM I NORSK HISTORIE. By *Johan Schreiner*. [Det norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1948. No. 1.] (Oslo, Dybwad, 1948, pp. 129, kr. 10,00.) Schreiner has here turned his attention to the perennial problem in Norwegian historiography—reasons for Norway's fateful decline in the fourteenth century. In contrast with earlier investigators, notably those who have ascribed the decline primarily to the Black Death and its consequences, Schreiner relates it to a basic change in Norwegian agriculture, which in the same century accompanied the rapid growth of Hanseatic influence in Norway and was marked by a sharp increase in Norway's butter production. Forced to minister to the demands of the Hansa's wide commercial orbit the Norwegian economy recovered from the effects of the plague much more slowly than did the economies of neighboring countries. The particular merit of Schreiner's new study is that it places the shifting fortunes of Norwegian agriculture in the broader setting of contemporary late medieval European agriculture (employing an unusually rich documentation). Therefore the author finds it possible to distinguish more clearly the general influences due to the Black Death from those due to the long period of domination in Norway by the Hansa.

O. J. Falnes, *New York University*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

YORKSHIRE DEEDS. Volume IX. Edited by *M. J. Hebditch.* [Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, CXI, 1948.]; YORK CIVIC RECORDS. Volume VI. Edited by *Angelo Raine.* [Y. A. S., Record Series, CXII, 1948.]; CATALOGUE OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE RECORD SERIES, 1885–1946. Compiled by *Charles Travis Clay.* [Y. A. S., Record Series, CXIII, 1948.]; EARLY YORKSHIRE CHARTERS. Volume VII. Edited by *Charles Travis Clay.* [Y. A. S., Extra Series, V, 1947.]. When a county historical society which has never had more than two hundred members or an annual subscription of more than five dollars completes sixty years

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of records-publishing with nearly 120 volumes to its credit, felicitations are in order and a catalogue is desirable. The *Catalogue* is evidence of substantial achievement ranging over many aspects of the life of England's largest—and, according to its inhabitants, most important—county from the twelfth century to the nineteenth. The seven handsome volumes of charters are basic raw material for the study of feudal society. The Wakefield manor court rolls span time from 1274 to 1750, almost without a gap. The plea rolls, inquisitions, feet of fines, lay subsidies, private deeds, quarter sessions records, Star Chamber proceedings, Royalist composition papers, monastic chartularies, and wills all have their use to students whose interest is wider than a single county. One of the longest runs in the series is reproducing the York civic records from 1475 to 1660, a job which has passed the halfway mark. During the war the society managed to publish ten volumes; it is now trying to catch up on the arrears of those years; and it rather shamefacedly excuses its inability promptly to overcome its tardiness by remarking, "The position must be faced that the cost of a volume is not less than two and a half times the pre-war figure." There is no cause for being ashamed or for making excuses. The society's record all through is one of "full unemployment"—without pay.

HERBERT HEATON, *University of Minnesota*

ENGLISH MERCHANT SHIPPING, 1460–1540. By *Dorothy Burwash.* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1947, pp. xii, 259, $3.50.) This is an excellent little book which presents a scholarly estimate of English merchant shipping in the years around 1500. The author makes a systematic analysis of a mass of material in the central and local archives of England, and prints some of this material in an appendix which takes up nearly a quarter of the book. Her conclusions, with relevant evidence, are presented in five chapters dealing respectively with the state and development of English scientific knowledge and equipment for navigation, the wages and conditions of common seamen at a time when they had not yet become merely employees, the increasing size and improved build of ships, the thirty-one different types of ship, and finally, in a statistical survey especially interesting to the historian, the share of English trade carried in English ships, as a whole and as distributed among different ports and cargoes. In all this critical exposition Miss Burwash is well aware of the danger of "harking back from the known to the unknown" by filling gaps in knowledge with deductions from a later century or by assuming that descriptive words retain the same meaning from one age to another. Her conclusions are that, while the activities of the period must not be exaggerated, there are nevertheless signs of such energy and enterprise, such advance in scientific and technical knowledge, and in shipbuilding and seamanship, as to make the years under consideration the "authentic forerunners" of the Elizabethan age.

G. H. GUTTRIDGE, *University of California*

JOHN HALES OF ETON. By *James Hinsdale Elson.* (New York, King's Crown Press, 1948, pp. 199, $2.50.) In a period so embroiled and contentious as the seventeenth century, when the bitterness of religious controversy was intensified by political and even military conflict, it is pleasant to contemplate the persistence of that sweet reasonableness of temper represented by "the ever-memorable John Hales," a philosophical attitude which can with some accuracy be called Erasmian Humanism. The extraordinary reputation in his own time of the retiring scholar of Eton is all the more remarkable considering how little he wrote and how little even of that was published during his life. His writings rather define his influence than account for it. Mr. Elson has devoted his study to the ideas of Hales, first to their historical relation

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to the "Christian Humanism" of the Continent in the sixteenth century, and, second, to their relation to the immediate English controversies in the seventeenth. Mr. Elson recognizes that "Humanism" is a word of many meanings, and he has carefully defined it as he applies it to Hales. In placing the religious thought of Hales in its historical context he has made good use of the considerable new investigation of aspects of this period by recent scholars, and he has indicated with discrimination the shadings and nuances of Hales's ideas and the implications they had for the contemporary scene. His book, written in full sympathy with its subject, tends to augment our appreciation of John Hales, and incidentally also of those other gentle spirits of the seventeenth century, such as Viscount Falkland and the Cambridge Platonists, whose pervasive influence on the English mind was probably greater than rigorous scholarly method can establish. Mr. Elson quotes from Dr. John Jortin, an eighteenth century admirer of John Hales, a sentence of Erasmian wisdom worth pondering in any age: "*Learning* has a lovely child called *moderation*." For the historian who is intent on understanding the nature and significance of the seventeenth century, the moderation of Hales, and of other like-minded men of his era, is fully as important as the belligerence of some noisier men.

Louis I. Bredvold, *University of Michigan*

THE COURT WITS OF THE RESTORATION: AN INTRODUCTION. By *John Harold Wilson*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. vi, 264, $4.00.). An examination of E. Beresford Chancellor's *The Lives of the Rakes* will show that it is impossible to follow the career of any one of the young blades that graced and disgraced the court of Charles II without constant reference to the other members of the fraternity. Mr. Wilson's study confirms his thesis that the only satisfactory way to deal with these blue-blooded roisterers—Buckingham, Dorset, Sedley, Etherege, Wycherley, Rochester, and others less illustrious for wit and sin—is to present them as a group. Nobody has ever written a dull book about a Restoration rake; Mr. Wilson's collective biography, besides achieving marked economy of space, is both scholarly and entertaining. If I have any fault to find, it is with two of the opinions he expresses. I doubt, in the first place, whether the scandalous behavior of these exhibitionists has been exaggerated and whether they were no worse than others—unless by others are meant Old Rowley himself and the duchess of Cleveland. They worked hard to achieve their reputation for "gallantry." In my opinion they earned it and should be allowed to enjoy it in undisturbed repose. Even if some of the anecdotes of their escapades are embroidered, some made of whole cloth, enough remains of the authentic record to give them a scandalous immortality. Mr. Wilson is inclined also to minimize their contribution to dramatic literature. A critic can make any early comedy sound ridiculous by merely summarizing the plot and making light of outmoded dramatic conventions. If the plays summarized by Mr. Wilson are approached historically, as they should be, not only will the court wits be given most of the credit for a brilliant new comedy, but their initial attempts, faulty as they are, will be regarded with the charity due to necessary experimentation.

C. A. Moore, *St. Paul, Minnesota*

THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE. Edited by *W. S. Lewis*. Volume XIII, HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THOMAS GRAY, RICHARD WEST, AND THOMAS ASHTON, I. Volume XIV, HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THOMAS GRAY, II. Two volumes in one. Edited by *W. S. Lewis, George L. Lam,* and *Charles H. Bennett*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948, pp. lv, 250; 315, $20.00.) In this distraught age, scholars must welcome the assurance that there is still a place for the

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calm pursuit of letters. Such assurance is furnished by the publication of two more volumes in the Yale edition of the Walpole correspondence and the announcement by the editors that the forty or more additional volumes may be completed by 1965. Most of the contents of volumes thirteen and fourteen, primarily the correspondence of Walpole with three of his school friends whose intimacy dated from their years at Eton, is well known from earlier, carefully edited publications. The present editors acknowledge their debt to their predecessors. Nevertheless, the thoroughness characteristic of the Yale edition is fully apparent and adds immeasurably to an understanding of the text. In addition to the correspondence, these volumes contain several brief pieces and the autobiography, the "Short Notes . . . ," corrected from the original manuscript rediscovered as recently as 1937. Although little more than jottings, the notes are valuable because they represent what Walpole himself thought important in his life. For example, he seems to relate with particular concern his experiences with publishers of his political writings. Historians might do well to observe anew his insistence that certain speeches ascribed to him were fictitious. Although in most technical aspects the editorial work is as nearly perfect as skill and enterprise could make it, the index leaves room for improvement. One illustration must suffice. There is considerable material in these volumes for a study of a subject of universal interest, liberty, especially liberty of the press; and there is at least one interesting reference to academic freedom. But neither "freedom" nor "liberty," neither "press" nor "printing" can be found in the index. Possibly the final index will be more inclusive. The division of the material into two volumes may be desirable from some points of view, but it seems unnecessary and likely to result in confusion.

DORA MAE CLARK, *Wilson College*

THE LETTERS OF PHILIP MEADOWS TAYLOR TO HENRY REEVE. Edited with an Introduction by *Sir Patrick Cadell.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. xxxi, 340, $5.00.) This work is valuable to students of Indian history because it gives first-hand information in the form of private letters (ninety-one in number) of Mr. Philip Meadows Taylor, a British official with long years of civil, military, and administrative experience in the service of the princely state of Hyderabad, to Mr. Henry Reeve, an editorial writer on the London *Times* during the years 1840–1849. These letters throw interesting light on conditions in Hyderabad and on policies of the East India Company in relation to Afghanistan, Burma, the Sikh Wars, and other important matters. Hyderabad was regarded as "misgoverned and mismanaged territories of the Nizam," where the British resident used his influence regarding the appointment of a prime minister, through whom British policy might have been carried out without difficulty. According to Mr. Taylor, the real reason for the Afghan War was to check a possible increase of Russian influence in this country bordering India. The British maneuvered to establish a puppet government of Shah Soojah, which was disliked by the Afghan people and led to the Afghan War which was detrimental to the interests of the Indian people who had to bear the cost of the war. The details of two Sikh Wars give a picture of rivalry, corruption, and lack of unity among Sikh leaders which was one of the main causes of their defeat. After the defeat of the Sikhs, there was no powerful state to fight and thus the Punjab was annexed by Lord Dalhousie, whose annexationist policy was, according to Mr. Taylor, generally approved by British officials in India. One may not agree with every detail concerning Indian politics discussed in these letters; but the letters supply materials which may be helpful in the study of the then existing situation in India.

TARAKNATH DAS, *Columbia University and New York University*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

UN INSTRUMENT DE LA TERREUR À PARIS: LE COMITÉ DE SALUT PUBLIC OU DE SURVEILLANCE DU DÉPARTEMENT DE PARIS. By *Henri Calvet*. (Paris, Librairie Nizet et Bastard, 1941, pp. 408.) This volume is indispensable for the specialist in the French Revolution for its wealth of information about little-known persons and events during the Terror in Paris, but the excellent summaries at the ends of chapters and the conclusions are a valuable contribution for the general historian. In tracing the origin, personnel, and functioning of the Committee of Public Safety of the department of Paris—the counterpart of departmental committees of *surveillance*—Calvet has removed confusion between this organ of Parisian government and the well-known Committee of Public Safety—a confusion shared by historians prior to the 1930's. Whereas provincial committees were authorized by the National Convention in March, 1793, the Parisian committee was established in June, under pressure from the sections of Paris following the expulsion of the Girondists. Its members were elected by an assembly of representatives of the sections, and the powers granted to it by the Law of June 6 made of this committee a clearinghouse between the sections of the capital and the other organs of government. The detailed history of its activity from June 8, 1793, until May 9, 1794, its last meeting, demonstrates the complexity of city government during the Terror, overlapping jurisdiction, party strife in and among revolutionary agencies, and difficulties of direct democracy in operation. The activity of sectional assemblies and of this committee was a Parisian manifestation of federalism. After the suppression of the permanence of the sectional assemblies, September 9, the committee gradually lost power by virtue of absence of members on committee or other assignment, without replacement. Suppression of the committee was pushed through the Convention, July 7, 1794, by opponents of Robespierre. Calvet analyzes separately the activity of the committee before the September regulation of sectional assemblies, which he considers the more active period, and from September, 1793, through May, 1794. Throughout, its prime functions were supervisory over police measures of the sections and administrative for the more important agencies of government. Analysis of the nine hundred charges handled by the committee (see especially p. 383 and pp. 247–53 and 353–59 for the two periods respectively) shows that the overwhelming number of cases were political. In the earlier period, the committee was also engaged in preparing a dossier against the Girondist deputies, carried out measures relative to recruitment and equipment of the army, and took measures to alleviate the food crisis of the summer of 1793, which Calvet asserts was a real crisis, not an artificial one or merely ungrounded fear. After September, 1793, the committee successfully hunted precious metals for currency and metals for defense, and engaged in a more active supervision of public morality and republican morale, with frequent censorship of newspapers and the theater. Through placards, the committee's chief means

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of communication with the public, and its correspondence, the revolutionary ideals of the common man are revealed. The honesty and diligence of the members of the committee were irreproachable. While Calvet describes the relations of the Parisian committee to other organs of the government, one misses discussion of its relations with the Jacobin Club. Absence of comparison with similar committees elsewhere in France is understandable, for Sirich's volume had not yet appeared (*The Revolutionary Committees in the Departments of France,* Cambridge, Mass., 1943), while the war prevented the latter from utilizing Calvet's volume. That Calvet was pioneering is attested by the sparsity of secondary citation and the wealth of manuscript material used. Not least valuable for the historian is the guide to archival materials which the excellent exposition of sources affords. Among interesting sidelights on the Terror are sectional participation in the overthrow of the Girondists, information on Parisian man power for national defense (see map p. 180), analysis of the food shortage supplementing Calvet's former volume on monopolies during the Terror (*L'Accaparement à Paris sous la Terreur,* Paris, 1933), and the complex maneuvers of Enragés, Hébertists, and Robespierrists for power. Calvet's categorical denial of class-consciousness on the part of the little-known *sans-culottes* who served on the committee is a corrective to the contentions of Guérin and others. The decline of the committee and its suppression over the opposition of Robespierre help explain the *coup d'état* of ninth Thermidor. Calvet interprets the Terror as a response to popular fear of hunger and treason, denying that the people were natural cutthroats and that the Terror was dictated from above. This is an economic and psychological explanation of the Terror. Although Calvet is writing local history, since the city is the French capital, this volume throws new light on the role of Paris during the Terror. B.F.H.

UN JURISTE PAMPHLETAIRE: CORMENIN, PRECURSEUR ET CONSTITUANT DE 1848. By *Paul Bastid,* Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 279, 350 fr.) This volume on the work of Louis-Marie de Cormenin supplements M. Bastid's two-volume work, *Doctrines et institutions politiques de la Seconde République.* Born of a family which was monarchist by tradition, M. Cormenin's thought was a mixture of the ideas engendered by the French Revolution and the principles of religious orthodoxy. The result was a brand of Christian democracy which foreshadowed the major adjustments in religious thinking in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. M. Cormenin succeeded in reconciling the principles of religious orthodoxy with the ideas of the Revolution. He never saw the least conflict between his faith and the new ideas to which he gave himself completely. The problem of political science as he saw it was to justify centralization of government while preserving the liberty of citizens. A centralized state, he believed was necessary for efficient administration and for military purposes but local powers of self-government were equally necessary. Cormenin was a determined opponent of the July Monarchy because it did not stand for certain fundamental rights. He wished the right to work for all. As a derivative of the right to work he wished universal free education with freedom of teaching because he believed no one denied an education could possess the right to choose his own vocation in life. He wished universal suffrage and freedom of the press which he asserted was the sole protector of the people. Above all, he wished a social revolution which would close the gap between rich and poor, a revolution based on Christian principles, not upon socialism. Such a revolution could come only through improvement of the lot of the working class. He was opposed to monarchy, believing that only a republic could guarantee the basic freedoms. Cormenin's *Lettres sur la liste civile, 1831–36* showing the financial irregularities of the monarchy were more widely read than his works on jurisprudence. He compared the high cost of

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monarchy with the lot of the French working class. Cormenin, however, parted company with the Republican party in 1835 because he opposed revolution by violence and the ultramontane principles of the Left. To the freedoms preached in the 1830's, he added freedom of religion, the rights of parents to decide the nature of their children's education. He was not, however, for separation of church and state in the American sense. He believed the church should have independence in education but that the state should provide financial support. The constitution of 1848 was Cormenin's masterpiece with its stress upon duties as well as rights. Most of Cormenin's philosophy has become the foundation of Christian Democracy in Europe today. The basis of his thought can be found in the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* as well as the papal pronouncements on education. Unfortunately, Cormenin's thought in Europe today is still the possession of relatively small groups of thinkers. It has not yet reached the stage of peaceful social revolution linking Christianity to life.

JAMES M. EAGAN, *Munich, Germany*

LES NÉGRIERS, OU LE TRAFIC DES ESCLAVES. By *André Ducasse.* (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 253, 225 fr.) Here is a work that describes in some considerable detail the slave trade between Africa and the New World. By emphasizing the importance of the trade to various aspects of life in Europe, the author reveals an approach similar to that made by Eric Williams, Lowell Ragatz, Wilson Williams, and others. M. Ducasse begins his account with the inception of the trade in the middle of the fifteenth century and brings it down to twentieth century practices of trading in men that have been discovered in several parts of the world. While the author gives much attention to the activities of all the European countries that participated in the trade, his main preoccupation is with the activities of the French. His pertinent and vivid illustrations, drawn from manuscript sources in Paris and the provinces, show his intimate acquaintance with a wide variety of sources. The story as told by M. Ducasse is replete with the actual experiences of the French as they undertook the task of winning a place in the important enterprise of trading in men. The job of fitting out ships for the voyages and of securing the cargo in Africa, the horrible experiences of the "middle passage" and the resistance of the Negroes to enslavement, the rivalry with traders of other countries and the constant harassment by pirates are described with competence and insight. The author also traces the rise of the opposition to the slave trade; and here, he gives considerable credit to the English leaders as well as to the French opponents of the practice. There are times when it seems that the author departs from the main purpose of his effort. For example, he does not clearly relate his discussion of John Brown and Harriet Beecher Stowe to the problem of the African slave trade. Perhaps the space given to Brown and Mrs. Stowe could have been more profitably used for a discussion of the legislation against the slave trade in the several countries of Europe and the Americas. Two illustrations and an appendix, including a list of the French companies trading in Africa and a discussion of the role of some French cities in the slave trade, are included. The volume is a substantial addition to the literature on the slave trade.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, *Howard University*

Subscribers to French learned periodicals will doubtless note that the price of subscriptions has been augmented. I hope that American subscribers will not decide to drop their subscriptions as a result of the rise. French societies publishing reviews have found their funds curtailed very drastically by inflation, and the government subsidies that before the war were an important contribution to their treasury, now represent a neglible sum. The *société* that publishes the *Annales historiques de la Révolution*

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française, for example, receives only $60 a year, in terms of current dollar rates. American subscriptions are an important source of revenue, and an important encouragement to scholarly publication. Irregularity of issue has in many cases been inevitable, but the numbers always come through. If scholars do not themselves subscribe, they should see that their university libraries do so. B.F.H.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

DRENTHE IN MICHIGAN. By *H. J. Prakke.* (Assen, Van Gorcum, 1948, pp. 86.) In a collection of six articles, which were previously published in the provincial press and in the monthly *Drente* of the Drents Genootschap, the author analyzes the social background of the church secession of 1834 in the province of Drente and its effect upon the emigration from that province to western Michigan in 1846 and 1847. Unlike the majority of emigrants from the other Dutch provinces, those from Drente were motivated primarily by religious rather than economic considerations. A list of the emigrants, as compiled by the provincial government in March, 1848, is appended.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

A HISTORY OF DENMARK. By *John Danstrup.* Translated by Verner Lindberg. (Copenhagen, Einar Munksgaard, 1948, pp. 195.) The author of a history of Denmark in 195 small pages has to face difficult problems of selection and emphasis. Danstrup has been very successful, within these limits of space, in presenting the fundamental facts and notions of that history. In a book intended to introduce British and American readers to Danish history and to Denmark, he has emphasized the modern period; half of the book deals with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including about twenty pages on the German occupation. Economic and social developments are well related to the political and a fair proportion of space is given to the work of Danes in literature, philosophy, and science. There is no table of contents or index but in a book of this size and purpose, they are perhaps not needed. The maps are good. Though the Danish idiom of the translator sometimes obtrudes and there are more misprints than listed in the table of errata, the style is generally easy and clear. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL, *University of Minnesota*

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

GESCHICHTE UNSERER WELT. Edited by *Fritz Karsen*. Zweiter Band, DIE VORHERRSCHAFT EUROPAS. Erster Teil, VON KARL DEM GROSSEN BIS ZUR GEGENREFORMATION. Von *Emmy Heller, Helene Wieruszowsky,* und *Hugo Bieber*. Zweiter Teil, VON DER AUFKLÄRUNG BIS ZUM AUSGANG DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. Von *Hugo Bieber*. (Berlin, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1947, pp. 467, 374.) This is the second volume of a new world history, written by German scholars resident in this country, and designed specifically for use in the upper grades of German high schools. The publishers hope also, however, that the work may promote the historical reorientation of Germans who have long since finished their formal schooling and that it may free them from the national egoism inculcated by the old educational system. Thus, the stated purpose of this history is to point out that Germany was not always the focal point of historical evolution, but that, in a world struggling towards the greatest possible development of human freedom, Germany was always the exceptional nation, where state power was emphasized to the detriment of human rights, where *Obrigkeitsvergottung* was always stronger than *Vernunft*. Revisionist histories cannot expect unanimous praise and it is safe to say that some adult German readers will be dismayed or angered at the treatment accorded in this double volume to such established German "heroes" as Barbarossa, Luther, Frederick the Great, and Bismarck. The icy objectivity with which the achievements of the first Hohenzollerns are viewed may, indeed, startle even American readers; and the authors' insistence upon correcting historical myths propagated by the Nazis seems at times unnecessary and perhaps injudicious. On the whole, however, this eagerness to set the historical record straight is not so obtrusive as to militate against the educational effectiveness of the volume. It is a well-proportioned history of the development of European civilization from the time of Charlemagne to the end of the nineteenth century, with emphasis placed upon the unity of European culture and experience. Miss Heller's treatment of the feudal period is clearly organized and beautifully written, and her account of the cultural and economic developments of the period shows a maturity of treatment not common to the usual school text. Miss Wieruszowsky, in her chapters on the complicated political events of the Renaissance period, has cultivated brevity without indulging in oversimplification. Hugo Bieber's sections, as was to be expected of the author of *Der Kampf um die Tradition,* are distinguished by excellent chapters on the literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and by a highly effective discussion of the spiritual isolation of Germany after 1871. GORDON A. CRAIG, *Princeton University*

KARL SCHURZ: EIN RHEINISCHER JÜNGLING. Von *Wilhelm Spael*. Teil I, DES LEBENSBERICHTES. (Essen, Verlag Fredebeul & Koenen, 1948, pp. 319.) Dr. Wilhelm Spael of Essen-Bredeney, Nord-Rhein-Westfalen, Germany, offers here the first of two volumes he has planned as a biography designed to bring Carl Schurz back into the field of vision of this generation of young Germans as an exemplary democrat. That is a laudable ambition, and he is doing his task well. The second volume will present Schurz as a world citizen. Volume I tells again, much as Schurz told it in the first volume of his *Lebenserinnerungen* (which was written in German and translated for the American edition of the *Reminiscences*), the story of Schurz's

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youth in the Rhineland, participation in the revolutionary movement of a hundred years ago, rescue of Kinkel, and life as a displaced person or political refugee in Switzerland, Paris, and London. It ends where that volume ended, with the first journey to the United States. It does not change materially the account that Schurz set down—accepts without question, for example, his rather romanticized recollection that the decision to settle permanently in the United States was fully formed before he left London—but adds some circumstantial detail here and there. It is interesting for example, especially to anyone who knows how readily Schurz always turned to writing political articles for the newspapers, sometimes in circumstances which his critics have thought inappropriate, to note how early and how avidly he undertook that form of agitation and used it incidentally as a means of supplementing his meager income. In the light of knowledge of his eventual mastery of the English language and of the bilingual literary skill he eventually developed, it is interesting also to see again how keenly and resentfully he felt at first his inarticulateness in French and English. It is unfortunate that the author did not have access to Dr. Joseph Schafer's edition of the *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz* or to the biographies by Dr. Schafer and Claude Fuess; but if those works were not available to him they will not be found by many of his German readers or in their language; so he is doing them—and the memory of Schurz—a service.

CHESTER V. EASUM, *University of Wisconsin*

THE CONCEPT OF EMPIRE IN GERMAN ROMANTICISM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AT FRANKFORT, 1848–1849. By *Ulrich Stephan Allers*. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1948, pp. v, 187.) The purpose of this doctoral dissertation, according to the author, is to contribute toward an analysis of the origins of German political mentality, since the developments of the last three quarters of a century make this a matter of the highest interest. In this vast problem his investigation is concerned only with one phase: how did German Romantic authors conceive of the empire and how much did their conceptions influence the discussions and decisions of the Frankfort National Assembly of the revolutionary years? In delimiting his field Dr. Allers proceeds with caution and understanding. He is well aware of the fact that there are many romanticisms, in fact, he points out (p. 160) that "most men are, among other things, Romanticists" and that as an elementary human attitude Romanticism recurs again and again. He confines his study to the German Romanticist attitude current toward the end of the eighteenth century and exclusively to its political aspect. He describes in detail the writings of typical authors (Novalis, the Schlegels, Adam Müller, and Joseph Görres) and among their political views he stresses particularly their conceptions of the empire. They differed greatly in detail when it came to a description of the empire, but in general they thought of it as an organism that had grown out of a combination of the Roman and the Germanic elements and they held the medieval empire in great admiration, including such features as divine right and feudalism. Naturally, the believers in organic growth would not be likely to favor a radical break with the past, *e. g.*, the establishment of a republic. In Part II the author discusses the Romanticist elements in the National Assembly and points out the paradox that while this body was the crystallization of the revolution it was not revolutionary. Nor was it Romanticist to any appreciable extent. The Romantic writers had defined the empire "as a living organism where the old institutions have survived more or less in their original form, never having been subjected to any radical change. Political Romanticism assumes that the hierarchical order of society is natural to man, and that this order finds its natural expression in a corporative state. The spirit governing this natural

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development is the *Volksgeist*" (p. 131). Dr. Allers quotes from the speeches of a few members of the assembly who did stress "organism," *"Volksgeist,"* "the estates," or the "Holy Roman Empire," but these Romanticists never were decisive. One decision the assembly arrived at was to offer the imperial crown to the king of Prussia (thus excluding Austria, whose head had been up to 1806 emperor of the Holy Roman Empire), but Frederick William IV declined because he was too much of a Romanticist to conceive of a "mutilated" empire. Yet the majority of the delegates had been in favor of such an empire headed by Prussia. The group that agitated for a republic was insignificant and there were also various shadings, *e. g.,* the poet Uhland spoke for a "democratic empire" with an elective head. Marginal to the theme of this thoroughly scholarly analysis are the reasons Dr. Allers assigns for the failure of the German Revolution of 1848, but since this subject is of great interest it seems worth citing them. "Most revolutions known to history developed in states that were politically homogeneous. . . . the German Revolution lacked the unified impetus characteristic, for instance, of the French or the English Revolutions; also, there was no central power or central order against which the revolution might have been directed."

A. E. ZUCKER, *University of Maryland*

POLITIK ALS SICHERUNG DER FREIHEIT. By *Ulrich Noack*. (Frankfurt a.M., G. Schulte-Bulmke, 1947, pp. 223.) DAS WERK FRIEDRICH DES GROSSEN UND BISMARCKS ALS PROBLEM DER DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE. By *Ulrich Noack*. [Würzburger Universitätsreden, Heft 7.] (Würzburg, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1948, pp. 16.) Dr. Noack's work as a historian centers upon the ethical problem in modern politics. The thesis which he wrote in 1925 with Friedrich Meinecke in Berlin analyzed Bismarck's policy under that aspect. A few years later he began to study Acton, and in three substantial and well-written books he introduced the English historian to the Germans. He found in him, in the "historian of liberty," the way to overcome the historicism of German historiography and its "realistic" appreciation of forces irrespective of their ethical context. *Politik als Sicherung der Freiheit* presents the best survey of Lord Acton's thoughts and writings. The presentation is of timely importance not only to the Germans; such an intelligently commented and arranged summary of Acton's ideas in Acton's own words would be most desirable even for Anglo-American readers. Dr. Noack, who before the last war remained, as a result of his political convictions, Privatdozent in Frankfort and in Greifswald, was appointed in November, 1946, professor of modern history at the University of Würzburg. There he delivered in June, 1947, a lecture on the problem of German history, in which he combined Acton's teachings with the old *grossdeutsch*-federalist interpretation. Like Acton he rejects the modern nation-state idea which he regards as Jacobin in its origin. The *kleindeutsch* centralized solution of the German problem in the nineteenth century drove Germany into overindustrialization, competition, and expansion, away from what Dr. Noack regards as the true task of a federal central Europe, culturally open towards the West, economically working for a rising standard of living in the East. Such a mediating role he hopes for the Germany of today. Two sentences, addressed to the Germans, seem to the reviewer of general significance: "Only that power will endure which unites itself with the eternal ideas of justice and the immortal forces of liberty, and which finds in this alliance its own self-limitation. . . . We should offer in the world today the example of a nation which does not regard politics as an adroit tactical move to assert one's own claims and rights and which does not justify itself by the share of guilt of others because such an effort at self-justification by the shortcomings of others only weakens our own self-education."

HANS KOHN, *Smith College*

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MONARCHIE DER GEGENSÄTZE: ÖSTERREICHS WEG DURCH DIE NEUZEIT. By *Heinrich Benedikt.* (Vienna, Ullstein Verlag, 1948, pp. 212. S 18.50.) The author, who is lecturer at the University of Vienna, tries to analyze the historical task of the Danubian community of nations and to stress the parallels as well as the contrasts which characterized the Habsburg Empire in comparison with other powers or groups of powers on the European continent. The real "Tertium Comparationis," however, is the British Empire, which offered the same advantages on a larger scale than Austria-Hungary to its members and sometimes used the same or even severer means of suppression than the international-minded, albeit haughty, top officials at Vienna. Dr. Benedikt gives us a lively picture of the political as well as the cultural history of the Austrian lands from the Middle Ages to the breakdown in 1918. Very cleverly and very correctly the author says, "Austria's imperial idea was to be found in her political and cultural unity, but not in her national." While in recent times scholarly historians, for example, Jaszi, the late Dr. Beneš, and others, have vied with each other in depicting the Habsburg dynasty as the source for every evil and for every reactionary trend, Benedikt remains impartial and shows that the supranational dynasty had to play along with the supranational Roman church, and because of the lofty position of the House of Austria the emperors did not show a special preference to the nobility but rather strove toward an equality between the different classes out of which they chose their supranational corps of employees and officers: for only the army and the corps of public functionaries were truly Austrian and not German, Hungarian, or anything else. Benedikt's small but very instructive book will interest especially the historically trained reader to whom it may bring new conceptions about the Habsburg monarchy.

ROBERT RIE, *Bradley University*

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

PIO IX E LA RIVOLUZIONE ROMANA DEL 1848: SAGGIO DI STORIA ECONOMICO-SOCIALE. By *Domenico Demarco*. [Collezione storica del Risorgimento italiano, Serie II, Volume XXXVI.] (Modena, Società Tipografica Modenese, 1947, pp. 152, L. 400.) This work, promised by the author in the preface of his *Una rivoluzione sociale: La repubblica romana del 1849* (Naples, 1944), is precisely what it is entitled, an essay in the social-economic history of the states of the church during the first two and a half years of the pontificate of Pius IX. The results of a great deal of careful research in a comprehensive list of materials are embodied in the three chapters. The effects of the European crop failures of 1846 and of the financial crisis

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of 1847 on the Papal States are clearly delineated along with the picture of the financial system which Pius IX inherited. Demarco shows that in great measure the pope attempted to apply the liberal program of the moderates as it had been formulated prior to 1848. He approved plans for the construction of railways, revised the tariff, undertook negotiations for the establishment of a customs league with other Italian states, granted a civic guard, and issued a constitution which provided for representation of the bourgeoisie in the Council of Deputies. These liberal reforms, however, did not immediately and directly affect the conditions of the masses of the poor or even of the greater part of the bourgeoisie. The contradictory policies in regard to grain actually worked hardship on agriculture, and public works were a mere palliative, not a solution of the problem of unemployment. The cost fell on the communes, already financially overburdened. The civic guard created heavy new burdens and the war against Austria brought financial disaster. Although the debates in the Council of Deputies revealed the sufferings of the lower classes, no effective remedial legislation was enacted, and the abuses of the old regime persisted in the shadow of the liberal government. After the assassination of Pellegrino Rossi, Mazzinian propaganda with its magic word "revolution" found a fertile field in the unsatisfied aspirations of the lower classes. Demarco does not claim an exclusively economic interpretation for the course of events with which he deals. He admits the effects on the Papal States of Radetzky's victory over the national forces in Lombardy, and recognizes the strength of Rossi's personality and program. He is to be commended for illuminating factors too long neglected by purely political historians.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH, *Washington, D. C.*

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

A DIGEST OF THE KRASNYI ARKHIV (RED ARCHIVES). Compiled, Translated, and Annotated by *Leonid S. Rubinchek*. Edited by *Louise M. Boutelle* and *Gordon W. Thayer*. (Cleveland, Cleveland Public Library, 1947, pp. xxiv, 394, $25.00.) For those who do not read Russian fluently nor have easy access to this principal Bolshevist historical periodical, this careful digest of the first thirty volumes, 1922 to 1928, is very useful. Dr. Rubinchek, a scholar born in Russia and now on the staff of the Cleveland Public Library, wished to make Russian history more familiar to Americans. He therefore made a digest of all the new material published from the Russian archives in this periodical for the years indicated. He gives fairly extended English translations of more important articles and documents, and where complete translations have been made into Western European languages, as in the case of the *Berliner Monatshefte*, he also calls attention to these. By cross-referencing material in *Krasnyi Arkhiv* and noting other Russian material subsequently published as well as works of western historians, he adds further to the usefulness of his digest. In an interesting brief introduction Dr. Rubinchek indicates the wide range of the memoirs, letters, diplomatic documents, and articles, many of them touching the United States, and their classification by historical periods. The principal editor was M. N. Pokrovsky, a former student of Vinogradov and Kliuchevsky. But discarding the philosophy of his teachers, Pokrovsky and his fellow editors aimed primarily to present the oppression and imperialism of the tsarist regime. This is certainly the impression of one who reads through this digest. His death in 1932 was described as "a great loss to historical science," but later he and his school were denounced officially for their serious "deviations." It is to be hoped that Dr. Rubinchek will complete his work by a second volume digesting the material in the volumes from 1929 to 1941 and adding a general index. SIDNEY B. FAY, *Harvard University*

A HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. By *Paul Crowson*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1948, pp. xiv, 225, $1.50.) Prepared as a textbook for English high-school students, *A History of the Russian People* is a well-organized and well-written survey of the whole of Russian history, supplemented with many useful maps, diagrams, and tables. In it the student will find many interesting and appropriate comparisons between Russia and Britain. Emphasis is placed upon the internal development of the country, with much space devoted to an admirable treatment of the peasant problem; military and diplomatic affairs are described in separate sections called "digressions." The author, assistant master of Radley College (England) frankly admits that "this book has no claim to originality"; the works of Pares, Sumner, and the Webbs are frequently cited in the footnotes. Although the author is generally objective in his account of events since 1917, the reader cannot but sense a certain mild sympathy for the Communists. He speaks of the "hollowness of parliamentary democracy" (p. 158) under the Provisional Government and explains its collapse by saying that "when the Russian Liberals had completed their arduous journey (in 1917), they were too weary to govern" (p. 98). Soviet conduct on the international scene does not disturb the author; he believes the Communists have begun "to revert to 'traditional' policy in foreign affairs" and Soviet foreign policy has changed from "workers' solidarity" to "Slav solidarity" (p. 184). Historians will regret some of Mr. Crowson's oversimplifications and broad generalizations: Russia appears to have joined the war of the third coalition simply because of Napoleon's aspirations in the direction of Turkey. The reader gets the impression that England

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entered into an entente with Russia solely because she preferred to have Russia rather than Germany in control of Constantinople. Finally, Mr. Crowson makes the claim that during the nineteenth century no country made a greater contribution than Russia to the music and literature of Europe.

CHARLES MORLEY, *Ohio State University*

BERING'S SUCCESSORS, 1745–1780: CONTRIBUTIONS OF PETER SIMON PALLAS TO THE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN EXPLORATION TOWARD ALASKA. By *James R. Masterson* and *Helen Brower*. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1948, pp. vii, 96, $2.00.) In their introduction the co-authors state that "The darkness of the Alaskan stone age had begun to yield to the advances of the Russians long before any clear account of their discoveries in the northern Pacific reached western Europe." These discoveries are briefly recapitulated to provide a background to the contributions made to the study of Alaskan history by Peter Simon Pallas, a native of Berlin who spent in Russia more than forty years (1768–1810) and became a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, as well as its professor of natural history. Pallas' writings concerning the discoveries in the northern Pacific by Russian seamen, traders, and explorers were scattered in the volumes of his serial publication *Neue nordische Beyträge* (1781–96). They form the main content of *Bering's Successors* and include translations or abstracts of reports of the Russian discoverers, as well as an essay on the contemporary state of knowledge of the northern Pacific and remarks on a map of Russian discoveries prepared by Pallas. This work offers in book form a reprint of articles which originally appeared in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*. Its significance lies in the fact that it makes accessible in the English language information which was heretofore buried in the pages of a rare serial publication in German, thus completing "the ready accessibility in English of all the main sources" on the post-Bering voyages. In their footnotes the authors did not attempt to cull the commentaries on these voyages available in the Russian language. They also failed to correct at least some of the errors made by Pallas and other foreign authors quoted by them in their rendering of Russian words, *e. g., rossomak* instead of *rossomakha*. A few of the names are distorted beyond recognition as *e.g.* "Kumikh" in the way of the patronymic of Krenitsyn. The translation from the German was carefully made and presents a real achievement in view of the obscurity of some parts of the text.

D. FEDOTOFF WHITE, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

THE RAPE OF POLAND: PATTERN OF SOVIET AGGRESSION. By *Stanislaw Mikolajczyk*. (New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1948, pp. xiii, 309, $4.00.) The appearance of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's *The Rape of Poland* completes the trilogy of the Polish tragedy. Ciechanowski's *Defeat in Victory,* followed by Lane's *I Saw Poland Betrayed,* have already revealed many scenes of this tense drama. Now the hero himself is on the stage. Lovers of freedom everywhere will admire the courageous role played by Mikolajczyk in his desperate struggle to save his beloved Poland from the clutches of communism. But Teheran and Yalta proved to be repetitions of Munich, and the fate of Poland was sealed without her knowledge, participation, or agreement. The Poles stubbornly withheld consent to any arrangement which would endanger the independence of their homeland. They realized from the very outset what many Americans came to appreciate only after the pronouncement of the "Truman Doctrine," namely, that dictators cannot be appeased; they must be stopped. It was for this reason that first Sikorski and later Mikolajczyk refused absolutely to discuss boundaries with Stalin. At the very moment when Stalin suggested "slight alterations" in Poland's eastern frontier, he was setting up the "Union of Polish Pa-

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triots." Thus it was not simply a question of yielding forty-eight per cent of Poland but the whole of Poland, for Stalin as early as 1941 was preparing his puppets to rule in Warsaw. Perhaps at that time Stalin was already contemplating the extension of the frontier of communism to the very gates of Berlin. Deprived of territory in the east, communist Poland could then be compensated in the west with lands along the Neisse and the Oder, and with Stettin. For Poland to become communist her political and intellectual leaders would have to be exterminated and the rest of her population terrorized into submission. The transportation of a million and a half Poles into the interior of Russia in 1939, the murder at Katyn of thousands of Polish officers, the refusal to aid the Warsaw uprising, the arrest of the members of the Polish underground army were all part of the grand strategy which was to provide Stalin with a communist Poland. Even all this was insufficient. The general election had to be postponed until two years after the "liberation" of Warsaw in order to give the NKVD and the Polish Security Police adequate time to prepare for a Communist victory at the polls. Those who are interested in contemporary affairs will find in Mikolajczyk's book brief but excellent characterizations of leading world personalities. Likewise, they will find the documents in the body of the book and in a forty-page appendix of great interest and value. The frequent references to the boundary issue and the long enumeration of specific atrocities committed against the Poles make at times for tedious reading. But Mikolajczyk outlines clearly "the pattern of Soviet aggression"; it should be understood by all who wish to preserve democracy.

CHARLES MORLEY, *Ohio State University*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. By *William Diamond.* [The Library of World Affairs, Number 7.] (London, Stevens and Sons, 1947, pp. xii, 258, 12*s.* 6*d.*) Influential circles, both inside and outside Czechoslovakia, for some years nursed the thought that the main function of that efficient little country was to act as a bridge between East and West. In some of his speech and action Eduard Beneš gave support to this concept. Yet he steadfastly insisted that Czechoslovakia was itself basically Western, and Jan Masaryk once remarked that as bridges were meant to be walked on in both directions, Czechoslovakia would prefer to decline the honor. Mr. Diamond's study of the economic and political reconstitution of Czechoslovakia in 1945 and 1946 is quite unintentionally an epitaph to this concept. In 1946 he saw the forces playing on that country from East and West about evenly balanced, and felt that the native leadership was successfully adjusting the governmental and industrial machinery to the new conditions, the most difficult of which were the loss of Germany as a source of raw materials and consumer's goods and a market for Czechoslovak exports, and the loss of several million industrially skilled Sudeten Germans. But Mr. Diamond's assumption of the viability of a small state situated within the Soviet sphere has proved completely false. One cannot but feel that Mr. Diamond, as well, of course, as many Czechoslovaks and Americans who took this line, were inadequately informed of Soviet intentions. In his case, as he was in Czechoslovakia during much of the time, there is perhaps less excuse for having misread the signs. The Communist leadership in its public pronouncements made no secret of what it was going to do. All the "legislation" put into effect since the February, 1948, coup was known by every informed Czechoslovak to be in the Communist plans in the summer of 1945. Mr. Diamond is most at home in economic matters, and gives a lively account of the recovery of industry, the course of labor readjustments, the shifts in markets and the efforts of the various government agencies to adapt the economy of the country to the new conditions. Yet one cannot avoid the feeling that much of Mr. Diamond's optimism stems from his acceptance at their face value of government statistics. Not

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even the government officials, to say nothing of the informed Czechoslovak citizen, went so far. No analysis of Central European economies can be written from government figures. No real account is taken, in estimating wages, prices, export and import totals, of the unrealistic revaluation of the crown, nor is American responsibility for acceptance of such valuation even mentioned. Nor does Mr. Diamond give any space to the economic significance of the very substantial black market. It can hardly be possible he did not know of its existence. One statement of importance calls for specific correction. It is stated (p. 75) that "The initiative of the American Ambassador in Prague in suggesting a joint withdrawal [of foreign troops] was a major contribution to the recovery of Czechoslovakia." The facts are otherwise. The initiative was President Beneš'. The American ambassador was reluctant to convey the suggestion to his government. Thereafter the Soviet commanding general apprised President Beneš of the withdrawal of Soviet troops two hours before the American ambassador notified the Hradčany of American acceptance of the suggestion. It is regrettable that so much conscientious investigation should have so quickly been invalidated by circumstances. There is not a single economic or political policy described by Mr. Diamond that has any significance today, when Czechoslovakia is tightly controlled by a small group, not all of whom are Czechoslovaks, who rule by decree in cynical disregard of public protestations that they are fulfilling the will of the people. S. H. Thomson, *University of Colorado*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

BRITAIN AND THE ARAB STATES: A SURVEY OF ANGLO-ARAB RELATIONS, 1920–1948. By *M. V. Seton-Williams.* (London, Luzac, 1948, pp. ix, 330, 21*s.*) This publication is partly a survey of Anglo-Arab relations and partly a political history in modern times of Iraq, Egypt and the Sudan, Lebanon and Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the minor Persian Gulf states. Other topics of discussion are the rise of Arab nationalism and the League of Arab States. The author, who served with the British ministry of information during the war, has here produced a concise manual which will be useful to civil servants, journalists and students, but it may be somewhat colorless for the casual reader. If any single general criticism may be made, it is that the handling of the subject is not sufficiently penetrating. There is too much narrow preoccupation with relatively superficial data of political and diplomatic history to the prejudice of forces of a broader, more profound, and impelling nature that have shaped events in this strategic area. The ambitions of the U. S. S. R. and the more recent role of the United States as factors influencing and modifying British policy in the Arab East are quite inadequately considered. Moreover, the geopolitical significance of the Near East arising from its position at the juncture of three continents, as an air-age transportation hub, and as an oil preserve and depot is only cursorily treated. Social and economic factors are practically ignored. In spite of her endeavors to be detached and impartial, the author is all too righteous in her interpretations of British motives in the Arab East. Lack of space precludes enumeration of specific examples but perhaps her attitude may be gauged by her description of the English military occupation of Egypt in 1882 as "temporary." The benefactions Great Britain has bestowed upon the Arab countries, particularly Iraq and Egypt, are repeatedly mentioned but with the suggestion that these nations have been ungrateful for Britain's favors or failing in understanding of her benevolent intent. The appended seventy-four pages of documents, illustrative of Anglo-Arab relations, are a commendable feature of the volume; it is suggested, however, that the text of the Saadabad Pact might more appropriately have been given in English rather than French. The bibliography, which is arranged by countries, will furnish a good introductory reading list for students of this area.

CHARLES R. GELLNER, *Washington, D. C.*

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY. By *Fung Yu-lan,* Professor of Philosophy, National Tsing Hua University, Visiting Professor, University of Pennsylvania. Edited by *Derk Bodde,* Associate Professor of Chinese, University of Pennsylvania. (New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. xx, 368, $5.00.) The author of this book, who specialized in Western philosophy at Columbia University, has spent many years examining his own country's philosophy against a background of Western thought. He has written, aside from many works in Chinese, *A Comparative Study of Life's Ideals* (1927); a translation of the Taoist book, *Chuang Tzu* (1933); and *A History of Chinese Philosophy,* of which the first volume—translated by Professor Derk Bodde of the University of Pennsylvania—appeared in 1937. The present work, edited by Dr. Bodde, is a condensation of the one last mentioned. Dr. Fung points out truly that in China philosophy was not the concern of a few inquiring minds;

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it was the business of every educated person. It was not a search for postulates satisfying to the intellect, but for right relationships among men and right attitudes toward nature. The reader of this book will be surprised at the many schools of thought that flourished in China, and at the fact that Chinese thinkers have touched upon almost all the major topics that have engrossed philosophers in the West. It is necessary to know the basic ideas set forth in a work such as this in order to discuss intelligently what is going on in China today. It cannot be effort misspent to note how men in a different environment, with different philosophical assumptions, ordered their lives, and achieved for themselves a serenity of spirit, and for their civilization a perpetuity unsurpassed by another people. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Washington, D. C.*

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United States History

Richard J. Purcell

GENERAL

AMERICA THROUGH BRITISH EYES. Compiled and Edited by *Allan Nevins.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. xi, 530, $6.00.) This book was reviewed (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXIX [July, 1924], 778–79), when it first came from the press of another publisher in 1923 as *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers.* The second edition, published in 1931, contained an additional selection from J. A. Spender's *Through British Eyes* (1928). The present edition includes in a fifth section, "Boom, Depression, and War," along with Spender's observations, selections from Collinson Owen, *The American Illusion* (1929); Mary Agnes Hamilton, *In America Today* (1932); M. Phillips Price, *America after Sixty Years* (1936); C. V. R. Thompson, *I Lost My English Accent* (1939); Graham Hutton, *Midwest at Noon* (1946); and Lord Tweedsmuir, *The Pilgrim's Way* (1940). There are appropriate additions to the bibliography and other apparatus. In order to make room for more recent matter, some passages in the earlier editions are omitted, among them all the selections from Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America Performed in 1806* (1811); Thomas Colley Grattan, *Civilized America* (1859); Edward A. Freeman, *Some Impressions of the United States* (1888); and George Warrington Steevens, *The Land of the Dollar* (1898). There have been considerable excisions from selections in the earlier editions excerpted from John Bernard, *Retrospection of America, 1797–1811* (1887); John Melish, *Travels in the United States . . .* (1812); Frances Hall, *Travels in Canada and the United States in 1816 and 1817* (1818); Fanny Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838–39* (1863); John Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens* (1872–74); James Silk Buckingham, *America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive* (1841); Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of America* (1849); Edward Dicey, *Six Months in the Federal States* (1863); and James Fullarton Muirhead, *The Land of Contrasts* (1898). There is nothing in the new book to indicate the omissions and excisions; some of the latter begin in the midst of a paragraph. The editor indicated in the earlier editions that he had modernized "punctuation and orthography" when it was "required to make the sense unmistakable." The present edition does not in all cases agree in punctuation with the earlier ones.

W. T. Laprade, *Duke University*

BLACK ODYSSEY: THE STORY OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. By *Roi Ottley.* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948, pp. viii, 340, $3.50.) As a popularization of a difficult subject, Roi Ottley's *Black Odyssey* is at least partially successful. Telling the story of the American Negro in brief and unaffected prose, this book should appeal to the interested reader seeking only to glean the major highlights. The author has approached his task with a journalistic background rather than as a trained historian. He has searched diligently for the human interest inherent in the narrative, dwelling mostly upon the "anecdotes and personalities" that have illustrated the Negro's development from 1619 to 1945. Some of the thumbnail sketches, including the commentaries on Marcus Garvey, Booker T. Washington, and Frederick Douglass, as well as the references to such recent topics as the controversy over the effectiveness of Negro troops in Italy and Ilya Ehrenburg's observations on American society, provide illustrations of vivid reporting. In spite of the publisher's bland assertion that every available source was exhausted to make this the "most complete

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and authentic picture of Negro life in America ever undertaken," thereby slighting the contributions by Gunnar Myrdal (*An American Dilemma,* 1944) and John Hope Franklin (*From Slavery to Freedom,* 1947), the book falls considerably short of this goal. A commendable desire to confine the volume to reasonable size has increased the likelihood of overgeneralization and inaccuracy. Thus the statement that "slavery of Negroes steadily declined until Whitney invented the cotton gin" (p. 3) is entirely misleading. While slavery often failed to keep pace with the expanding white citizenry, the investigations conducted by E. B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington (*American Population before the Federal Census of 1790*) and Stella H. Sutherland (*Population Distribution in Colonial America,* 1936) indicate that from the time of the outbreak of the American Revolution until the federal census of 1790 the Southern commonwealths experienced discernible increases in slave population. Ambiguous wording also gives the erroneous impression that the year 1795 witnessed the invention of the cotton gin and ushered in an era of "fierce sectionalism between North and South" (p. 123) ignoring the nationalism still to be represented by such Southerners as Calhoun, Lowndes, Marshall, and Monroe. Perhaps in a revised edition of the work, the author might reconsider the degree of accuracy of the references to the lack of Northern interest in acquiring slaves (p. 12); the social equality which free Negroes enjoyed during the seventeenth century (p. 13); the land area of Jefferson's plantation at Monticello, apart from his wife's inheritance in adjoining counties (p. 40); the status of Fraunces Tavern as the oldest historic landmark in New York City (p. 68); the Virginia proposal after the Gabriel plot as "the first hint that Americans were thinking of ridding the country of blacks" (p. 83), which is actually contradicted by a statement on page 118; and the exact wording of Lincoln's reply to Horace Greeley on the objectives of the Civil War (p. 174). A revision would likewise provide an opportunity to enlarge the cursory chapter on the period of Reconstruction and white restoration; the two paragraph discussion of the FEPC, which ignores its constructive accomplishments and even the name of Chairman Malcolm Ross; as well as the current bibliography, which cites certain limited general histories while omitting most of the state and local studies of the Negro.

LEONARD PRICE STAVISKY, *State Teachers College, Oswego, New York*

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter.* Volume XIII, THE TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA-MISSOURI, 1803–1806. [State Department Publication No. 3096.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948, pp. xi, 641, $3.50.) This volume is doubly welcome: first, as evidence that the publication of the *Territorial Papers* is being resumed after its wartime suspension; and secondly, as a partial relief from wearisome research in overstuffed archives from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi. Furthermore, the continuance of Professor Carter's name on the title page gives assurance of competent editorial work. The present volume is the first of three that will touch upon the administrative history of Missouri from 1803 to statehood in 1821. It precedes by a few months the actual occupation of the region by American forces and carries forward the record of combined army and civilian control to August, 1806. Four executives then had the oversight of its affairs. The first two, Amos Stoddard and James Bruff were army officers in active service, who for the time being added civilian duties to their military functions. William Henry Harrison, during some nine months, extended his jurisdiction from Indiana Territory to include the few white settlements that lined the western bank of the mid-Mississippi. James Wilkinson, while still commanding the American army, followed Harrison's

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incumbency. The chronicle of this bombastic "governor-general" continues beyond the compass of the present volume but his tempestuous twelve months at St. Louis fills three fourths of the book (including four pages of the index) and stirred up personal factions that long continued to embroil local politics. These temporary holding agents for the prospective territory and state largely busied themselves with land claims and Indian affairs. The former were intensified by the presence of lead mines. This brought Wilkinson into open controversy with Moses Austin, one of the chief promoters, but other claimants and subordinate officials soon became equally bitter opponents. The scattered Indian tribes, too, provoked cupidity as well as concern and the general's previous reputation did not shield him from charges of mingling his private affairs with public trusts. His vulnerable record took on new life shortly after his arrival and was promptly reinforced by his arbitrary course in absorbing every possible power belonging to his ill-defined double office. The ensuing turmoil enlivened local politics and aroused deep concern at Washington. In his preface the editor locates the sources for his materials and indicates how he chose and arranged them for publication, trying to avoid reprinting documents available elsewhere and to make his footnotes explanatory rather than interpretative in character. They represent a wide selection and are free from bias. To a degree they completely fill the function of a formal bibliography. One may suggest that in one place (p. 307) he gets his half dozen John Smiths slightly mixed up and in a second place (p. 283) he does not avoid an error of the time in confounding the Red River with the Canadian, which was a tributary of the Arkansas. But in the course of identifying hundreds of persons and scores of unfamiliar streams the sixty-seven pages of index more than atone for a few slips. ISAAC J. COX, *Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas*

LINCOLN RUNS FOR CONGRESS. By *Donald W. Riddle.* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press for Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois, 1948, pp. ix, 217, $3.00.) As a politician Abraham Lincoln was no Simple Susan. His political acumen, as Donald W. Riddle demonstrates in *Lincoln Runs for Congress,* developed early. In 1846 Lincoln wanted to be the Whig nominee from the central Seventh Congressional District in Illinois; therefore, he won over newspaper editors, wooed the voters, organized conventions, and convinced the delegates. His chief rival, John J. Hardin, who had already served one term in Congress and now was publicly hoping to return, found himself outmaneuvered, his "warmest personal friends . . . compromitted," and his chances for party endorsement negligible. Rather than risk humiliating defeat, he reluctantly withdrew, and Lincoln was unanimously nominated by a hand-picked district convention. All this was accomplished by Lincoln without appeal to any principle whatever; party regularity and the idea of rotation in office were his chief claims for support. "Turn about is fair play," said the Lincoln men; "it is Abraham's turn now." Yet if the Lincoln campaign showed political sagacity, it also demonstrated a high degree of personal integrity; Professor Riddle proves that Lincoln was wholly and carefully fair to not-so-scrupulous opponents. In the campaign for the Whig nomination and in the ensuing easy victory over Peter Cartwright, the Democratic candidate, Lincoln "proved himself an extraordinary manager, if not leader of men. He had correctly estimated his field of operations, planned his strategy, and handled his forces well. Now he was ready to enlarge the horizon of his political career from state to nation." Modestly Professor Riddle disclaims having found new Lincoln sources as the basis for his carefully documented account, and it is true that this little volume does not materially alter the picture of the campaign as drawn by A. J. Beveridge or Harry E. Pratt. But *Lincoln Runs for Congress* is

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more exhaustive in research and more complete in detail than any previous study of this almost forgotten chapter of the Lincoln story. Professor Riddle's book is another example of the superior scholarly productions sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Association.

DAVID DONALD, *Columbia University*

THE FACE OF ROBERT E. LEE IN LIFE AND LEGEND. By *Roy Meredith.* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. 143, $5.00.) This is a comprehensive pictorial record of Robert E. Lee. Included in the "Life" section are likenesses derived from Lee in person: the three portraits for which he sat, three daguerreotypes, one tintype, thirty-one indubitably original photographs, and four sculptures. There are also examples of the numerous steel and wood engravings executed by craftsmen, before the invention of photo-engraving, for reproduction on the printed page, often going wide of the mark but affording all that millions of Lee's contemporaries and readers for several decades after his death ever knew of how he looked. In the "Legend" portion are various idealized, mystical, and sometimes naive and fanciful renderings of Lee that multiplied after his death, many of these having no basis in fact or standing in aesthetics but revealing in their aggregate how potent a great man can become as a symbol and how the memory of a beloved leader can create its own legend in the hearts of a nation. No effort at a biography of Lee is attempted, although wherever possible to date a photograph or painting the accompanying text describes the circumstances of its making and the conditions of Lee's life which formed its background.

JAMES W. PATTON, *University of North Carolina*

A JERSEYMAN'S JOURNAL: FIFTY YEARS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS AND POLITICS. By *Walter Evans Edge.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. xi, 349, $5.00.) "A Business Man with a Business Plan," Walter E. Edge entered politics after successful ventures as a newspaper publisher and the head of the Dorland Agency, a pioneer firm in public relations. From his business career he derived financial independence, sound administrative principles, conservative fiscal theories, an unswerving Republicanism, and a realistic attitude toward practical politics. As a state legislator while Wilson was governor, chief executive of New Jersey during two wars, United States senator from 1919 to 1929, and ambassador to France during the early years of world depression, Mr. Edge dealt constantly with profound problems. A narrative of his experience should afford a wealth of new information on American history in the last four decades. But he has chosen to reveal little, attempting primarily to demonstrate "that no form of 'public security' can permanently replace the . . . right of every citizen to achieve the fullest expression of his life." In developing this thesis he is often inaccurate. The utilities law passed during the administration of Governor Fort was not "little different" from that passed under Wilson. The failure of the Versailles Treaty with the Lodge reservations did not follow "the veto of the President and the impossibility of securing the two-thirds vote needed to override the veto." The U. S. S. *Texas* was by no means a "new" battleship in 1928. Coming from a former member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee and a self-styled advocate of naval preparedness, such errors are unfortunate. Mr. Edge reveals himself in his indiscriminate praise of Harding, Coolidge, and Landon, his invariably harsh references to Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, and his pride in the authorship of parts of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff. His errors, omissions, and biases have made his memoirs of little value either to historians or to lay readers.

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JOHN J. PERSHING, GENERAL OF THE ARMIES: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Frederick Palmer.* (Harrisburg, Military Service, 1948, pp. xiii, 380, $4.50.) The appearance of this book so promptly after the subject's death makes one scan it with caution. The text, however, was completed more than eight years before publication except for two chapters added in 1946. Haste to get through the press appears only in the proof-reading, which is pretty distressing. The author was closely associated with General Pershing when both were observers in the Russo-Japanese War and again when he served on the commanding general's staff in France. Thus he is peculiarly fitted to prepare this study, provided he is not carried away by blind admiration for his chief. His admiration is conspicuous throughout, but there is no fulsome praise, and as a rule he merely states the facts as he saw them, leaving the reader to draw conclusions. Parenthetically, it is odd that a war correspondent with experience dating back to 1895—not 1872, as the jacket says—should be so unfamiliar with the administrative history of our Army, as appears in many small mistakes not affecting the course of the narrative. The ancestry and early life of the subject are covered in the first chapters; then follow some pages on his military career before 1917. These need no particular comment. The chief value of the book, and a very great value, is in the vivid account of Pershing's unending struggle to maintain an independent American army in France. He had to oppose not only the Allied governments, wishing to allot a full share of casualties to the American Army and all the glory to the French and British, but also many Americans suffering from the national inferiority complex that John Fiske noted as prevalent in the Revolution. The effort was first to have American soldiers incorporated as individuals in foreign units; failing this, then American companies, battalions, and so on up. It was due chiefly to Pershing's grim insistence that an American army was preserved intact under its own commanders. The fact is well known, but nowhere are the intensity and the long duration of the struggle more clearly shown than in this book. As it is largely a record of the author's personal observations, the lack of a bibliography is not serious, but an index is badly needed. The book should be in even the most modest collection of World War I history.

THOMAS M. SPAULDING, *Washington, D. C.*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

PEACHAM: THE STORY OF A VERMONT HILL TOWN. By *Ernest L. Bogart.* (Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1948, pp. [xii], 494, $6.00.) That local history can transcend antiquarianism by presenting a microcosm of general history and the documented details to support or modify broader history is amply proved in this volume. Peacham has no special claim to attention; histories of towns which have continued to grow would be more illuminating but harder to write. This sample illustrates the early bloom and decline of the New England hill country. Few small towns could sit for their portraits under more favorable circumstances. Much material had been collected when Ernest L. Bogart received a grant for the undertaking. He contributed the experience of a lifetime's scholarship in economic history, the detachment of an outsider, and the attachment of a sympathetic summer resident. His organization and balance between periods and topics is superior. The early nineteenth century, when Peacham was most prosperous, deserves the focus. Pioneer days, however, are more fully documented and described than the century of decline. Economic development, treated with a sure hand, is well balanced by social history, with solid and fresh chapters on church and schools. The author minimizes politics. He extracts

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social and economic information from town records; but nowhere can the reader find an account of the political organizations which tied local institutions together and kept Peacham conservative, whether the rest of the county was or not. To Dr. Bogart, the Peacham story exemplifies democracy at its best. He holds this truth to be self-evident, and so will most of his local readers. The range of sources, many of which he quotes at length, is comprehensive, and his use of them careful. Time and money permitting, he should have sampled the manuscript schedules of the federal census through 1880 (particularly those on manufacturing), and Vermont newspapers. There is some patchwork, as in chapter XIV, "Civil and World Wars and Population," which includes lists of war veterans, a sketch of a local boy who made good (George Harvey), the nostalgic doggerel of an emigrant, a list of permanent summer residents, the price of corsets, the weather, and a colony of beavers. The book has a few excellent illustrations and maps; tables of statistics and lists of officials; no charts; an improvable index. It sets a high standard for local historians.

THOMAS BASSETT, *Earlham College*

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT FROM MAY 1789 THROUGH OCTOBER 1792. Compiled in accordance with an act of the General Assembly by *Leonard Woods Labaree,* State Historian. [Records of the State of Connecticut, Volume VII.] (Hartford, published by the State; distributed by State Library, 1948, pp. xviii, 647, $6.00.) This volume of records of meetings of the general assembly and the governor and council of Connecticut coincides with the first presidential administration under the United States Constitution. Quite correctly, however, the general assembly concentrated its attention on the affairs of the state. At the May meeting of the assembly an election sermon was followed by the counting of the votes of the freemen for state officers. Subsequently the assembly appointed judicial officers for the year ensuing. At the October meeting of the assembly the nominations of the freemen for assistants were counted. At all meetings the general assembly passed acts and resolutions, appointed military officers, filled vacancies among the executive and judicial personnel, and dealt with the innumerable memorials and petitions that came before it. The American Revolution was still reflected in the records of the state. Sufferers at the hands of the British were compensated by land in Connecticut's Western Reserve. Loyalists or their heirs petitioned for and received all or part of estates that had been confiscated during the Revolution. Only incidentally did the new national government receive attention. At the beginning of each session members of the general assembly took an oath to support the federal Constitution. United States senators and presidential electors were appointed by the assembly, and representatives to Congress were nominated and elected by the freemen of the state. Coinage of "Connecticut cents" was suspended in 1789. The assembly ordered that the United States Constitution and the federal laws should be printed and distributed for use of the inhabitants of the state. The volume is edited with the same scholarship and care that has marked the earlier volumes of the series. An unusually fine index facilitates its use.

ISABEL M. CALDER, *Wells College*

THE GREATER CITY: NEW YORK, 1898–1948. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *John A. Krout.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. viii, 260, $3.00.) This small volume serves a useful purpose in presenting and analyzing facts that are significant to the development of the world's greatest city during the past fifty years. Written and published as part of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the union of the five boroughs into Greater New York, it inevitably carries something of the booster tone. As a series of essays by five authors, it lacks the unity of a single,

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closely knit study. But the authors have shown judgment in the facts which they have selected for inclusion and skill in presenting highly compressed material with life and meaning. The opening essay by Allan Nevins, "Past, Present and Future," places the last fifty years in longer historical perspective and paints with a broad but skillful brush the major trends of these years. The chapters by John Krout on "Framing the Charter" and by Carl Carmer on the mayors "From Van Wyck to O'Dwyer" have the advantage of covering more limited subject matters and can, therefore, give these aspects somewhat fuller and more rounded treatment. Thomas C. Cochran's effort to tell the story of "The City's Business" in fifty pages, an almost impossible undertaking, makes the reader aware of the major areas of the city's economic life and their principal interrelationships, and touches the high spots of the city's recent economic growth. The attempt by Margaret Clapp to cover "The Social and Cultural Scene" suffers somewhat more than the other chapters from the nature of the volume and limitation of space, for it is hard to convey the essential diversity of the life of New York in such a limited space and in a volume whose focus is on the city as a whole. As a unit, however, this little book demonstrates that it is possible and useful to view a great urban community as a whole, as well as to study more thoroughly the many elements of which it is composed. CAROLINE F. WARE, *Howard University*

LESSER CROSSROADS. Edited by *Hubert G. Schmidt* from THE STORY OF AN OLD FARM by *Andrew D. Mellick, Jr.* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1948, pp. xii, 402, $5.00.) *The Story of an Old Farm,* a New Jerseyana classic published in 1889, contained 743 pages. *Lesser Crossroads* is a volume of 402 pages, and as a result of the discriminating editing of Hubert G. Schmidt, professor of history in the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University, not only is the meat still there, but this abridged edition is a more readable book than the original. *Lesser Crossroads* is a friendly, leisurely book, too leisurely in spots, perhaps for some modern readers. But it is a treasure house of information about colonial and revolutionary New Jersey, and a "must" for everyone interested in a close-up of the kind of people who wrested this land from the wilderness, and from the crown. It is the story of Johannes Mellick, his family and his descendants. It is also the story of Indians, slaves, "redemptioners," Tories, patriots, government officials, soldiers, paupers, the great, the near great and the everyday men and women who contributed to the making of America. The tale opens with the landing of the "Mölichs" at Philadelphia from Germany in 1735. Sixteen years later Johannes and his family were settled permanently on the old farm in Bedminster township in Somerset County, part and parcel of the land of their adoption. *The Story of an Old Farm,* was described by its author as a "semi-social, semi-historical work." So of necessity is *Lesser Crossroads.* Many pages are devoted to reporting that considerable part of the Revolutionary War fought on New Jersey soil. It is good history, history with more stress than usual on the human beings who helped to make it, and the reader learns, for example, how the generals conducted themselves socially as well as on the field of battle. He meets their ladies. He also meets the Mellicks' friends and neighbors, and is welcomed into their homes and their lives. One comes to feel that these people are his intimates. Copies of *The Story of an Old Farm* are difficult to find. Thanks to Professor Schmidt and the Rutgers University Press, this handsome volume now makes the essentials of that important contribution to Americana readily obtainable.

PAUL G. TOMLINSON, *Princeton, New Jersey*

EARLY DAYS OF OIL: A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE BEGINNINGS OF THE INDUSTRY IN PENNSYLVANIA. By *Paul H. Giddens.* (Princeton, Prince-

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ton University Press, 1948, pp. viii, 150, $6.00.) This work is concerned primarily with the boom period of the petroleum industry in the old Oil Region of Pennsylvania. The illustrations were drawn from the surviving remnant of the once large collection of views of its early activities that were taken and preserved by John A. Mather, the English-born photographer of Titusville. Early leaders of the industry, famous pioneer producing fields, methods of drilling, the evolution of transportation to the development of the tank car and long-distance pipe line, subsidiary industries, local oil exchanges, merchandising, and the appearance of recreational facilities that ranged from theatricals to the accommodations provided by Ben Hogan, "the wickedest man in the world," are all depicted. Most emphasis, as might be expected in a volume prepared by the curator of the Drake Well Museum, is placed upon crude oil production. Refining receives a minimum of emphasis. Little attention is given to its promising development in the early seventies and none to the subsequent dismantling of most refineries as the Standard Oil monopoly strangled this promising industry. Urban development is featured, with separate chapters on Pithole and Titusville, the metropolis of the region. Only superficial attention is paid to the years 1870–1885, in which the expansion of the producing area receives most emphasis. The rise of the Standard Oil to control over the region and the struggles of the producers and independent refiners against this are inadequately portrayed. The concluding chapters exhibit some of the spectacular fires and floods that afflicted the wasteful, pioneer petroleum industry, and the attempts of later inhabitants to preserve the region's history. The illustrations in the book are of excellent quality and are well indexed. The brief captions attached to most photographs provide a superficial narrative history that will be of interest chiefly to the general reader.

CHESTER MCARTHUR DESTLER, *Connecticut College*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE OLD SOUTH: THE MEDIEVAL STYLE, 1585–1850. By *Henry Chandlee Forman.* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. 203, $10.00.) Here we have a study of the translation of traditional English building to the Southern colonies and its flowering there during the colonial period. It is not the Georgian architecture of the style books that Dr. Forman studies but that of the carpenter-builder who followed the traditions age-old in English cottage building. That there was over a century of building in the American colonies with the qualities of English work of the Tudor period is little understood and this book serves a purpose in emphasizing it. There is a very short section entitled "Our English Gothic Heritage," which remarks upon the primitive character of sixteenth century cottage building in England and the late acceptance of Renaissance ideas in it, and therefore the lack of academic influence in early Southern colonial building. Dr. Forman thereupon embarks on three studies which he calls "Virginia Mediaeval Architecture," "Maryland Mediaeval Architecture," and the "Mediaeval Architecture of the Deep South." In these he examines the growth of the house plan (and, in passing, the church plan as well) and the external architectural features of the period. In plan he shows how the earliest one-room house developed into the "hall and chamber" dwelling sometimes with an enclosed entrance "porch" or tower on the front and stair tower on the rear. Lastly, he shows examples of center-hall houses one room deep, in the traditional way, which increased to two rooms in depth to form the basis for the eighteenth century Georgian type house. To explain the text there are a vast number of pen and ink plans, diagrams, and drawings. The book is well indexed and has an extensive bibliography. With Dr. Forman's books on Maryland plantation houses and on Jamestown and St. Mary's City, it was anticipated that his new book would form a useful addition to works on American architecture. However, his study is too cursory, his material too scant, and his field too wide for the definitive work we would expect from one of his experience. The first two American parts have much familiar material, as well as some new material, but his analysis is not clear or his conclusions well drawn. His sources are not always documented and some of his statements are inaccurate. Further, as especially apparent in his last section on the so-called "Deep South," Bermuda, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, there is no original research and his sources seem to be all secondary, except in the page-and-a-half Georgia chapter. In the case of Bermuda, he is entirely unaware how rich the field of his own choosing really is. There are 282 illustrations, largely plans and drawings, though only 12 photographs are included. This book has much interesting material in it, but the paucity of photographs will reduce its desirability both to the average purchaser and to the specialist, and, while the text may appeal to the former, it hardly qualifies as material to be included in research libraries.

THOMAS T. WATERMAN, *Washington, D. C.*

THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA. By *James Etheridge Callaway.* (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1948, pp. vii, 138, $2.50.) This well-documented, timely, and interesting study proves the need for a more localized approach to similar Southern problems. Factors entering into the scene are so varied as to contradict more

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generalized studies when applied to Georgia. In the first years of settlement immigrants were planted and fitted into a prearranged defensive pattern. Once the thrill of adventure had worn off, the Spanish threat had ended in 1773, and emigration had begun, land laws were liberalized permitting planters from South Carolina to occupy the coastal plain. The malarial menace of the plain adapted to rice and indigo culture excluded the nonslaveholding planter from the region. As Indian lands became available in the 1770's farmers moved into the uplands from the Carolinas and down the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania and Virginia to engage in tobacco culture, an art quite familiar to them. This southward movement was more natural than from the coastal section, which was cut off from the uplands by barren sand hills. The invention of the cotton gin combined into one the forces paramount in the different sections. Planter and small farmer were seized with a desire for cotton land as cotton could be cultivated profitably on any scale. In the Piedmont counties the large planter did not displace the cotton farmer. They cultivated their crops side by side. Here the small slaveholder and farmer far outnumbered the large planter until the country was well settled.

CARL MAUELSHAGEN, *Atlanta Division, University of Georgia*

A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF GEORGIA, 1732–1945. By *Albert Berry Saye,* Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1948, pp. xi, 521, $4.50.) Professor Saye's work is a balanced history of Georgia under the charter, as a royal colony, and under the eight constitutions the state has had since 1776. Commendably, the author has given nearly equal amounts of space to approximately equal periods ending in 1798, 1877, and 1946. Each of the sixteen chapters is divided into sections, and topical headings make still easier the use of a well-organized book marked by an attractive format. In the first six chapters, abridged from Dr. Saye's *New Viewpoints in Georgia History,* the constitutional development of Georgia is related to the growth of the state and nation more effectively than is done in the later sections. In the portion of the book that deals with the period since 1877 the author summarizes political, and some economic and social, events and he recounts in detail the constitutional changes that were made. But the establishment of relationships between the two sets of facts is largely left to the reader. For example the author says, on page 333, that "Constitutional issues were frequently involved in political campaigns, and the administration of each Governor witnessed one or more amendments in the Constitution." While the amendments are carefully listed (more than two hundred are included in chapter fifteen), the involvement of constitutional issues in political campaigns is rarely shown. This reviewer noted remarkably few errors. The author placed the Yazoo River in Alabama instead of in Mississippi; the statement that prohibition was not a dominant issue in the gubernatorial campaign of 1906 is at least debatable; and a proofreader's error made Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography.* There is a list of governors from Oglethorpe (1733) to Ellis Arnall (1947); the Constitution of 1945 is given in full; there is a helpful commentary on sources, a bibliography, and an index. The volume is a noteworthy addition to the literature of state constitutional history and to the history of the South.

BINGHAM DUNCAN, *Emory University*

HUGH DAVIS AND HIS ALABAMA PLANTATION. By *Weymouth T. Jordan,* Research Professor of History, Alabama Polytechnic Institute. (University, Ala., University of Alabama Press, 1948, pp. 177, $3.00.) This monograph centers attention on the career of Hugh Davis and his plantation, Beaver Bend, located on the Cahaba River ten miles from Marion, Alabama. A prosperous law practice at Marion from

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1834 to 1848 enabled Davis to acquire the necessary land and capital to turn to planting. From then until his death in 1862 he devoted his major efforts to Beaver Bend, where seventy-eight slaves were engaged in farming 5,000 acres of land at the peak of operations. While not all this wealth came from planting, Davis undoubtedly prospered during his years at Beaver Bend. The Civil War witnessed a reversal of this pattern. His son, Nathaniel, had to mortgage the last 200 acres of Beaver Bend four years before ceasing operations and moving back to Marion in 1901. An introductory chapter sketches Davis' ancestry, his career as a lawyer, and the social and economic development of Alabama in its formative years. The detailed story of operations at Beaver Bend from 1848 to 1862 requires six chapters covering Davis' interest in scientific farming, his relations with overseers, the purchase, care, management, and work of slaves, subsistence farming, and marketing operations. A concluding chapter carries the story of Beaver Bend from 1862 to 1901. The author suggests that such detailed, personal studies as this are essential if slavery and the plantation system are ever to be understood properly. Davis is presented as a typical planter in most respects. Although highly regarded in his own community, he did not attract marked attention elsewhere and seems never to have had political ambitions. His interest in Beaver Bend resulted in the keeping of sufficient records to provide the basis for the current story. The writer has been modest in his claims and has held himself within the limits of his purpose. The monograph is accurate, thorough, and well put together. It is unfortunate, however, that the writer did not see fit to generalize more in regard to the significance of his material for the general history of the South. In the reviewer's estimation, he is unduly modest. For instance, his treatment of overseers does not merely confirm previous studies, as the author is inclined to feel. Davis' success in using his own slaves as substitutes for overseers at a critical period in his health and the striking evidence of correlation between salary and ability on the part of overseers whom Davis employed justify conclusions that the author refuses to make. Similarly, his study of Davis' marketing operations scarcely confirms existing impressions. By refusing to develop the possible significance of his story in such cases, the author limits the usefulness of his work.

LEWIS E. ATHERTON, *University of Missouri*

LAKE OKEECHOBEE, WELLSPRING OF THE EVERGLADES. By *Alfred Jackson Hanna* and *Kathryn Abbey Hanna.* [The American Lakes Series.] (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1948, pp. 379, $4.00.) This volume is the ninth to be published in "The American Lakes Series," under the editorship of Milo M. Quaife. In quality it is well up to the standard of the other volumes of the series which have already appeared and the reader will find it well written and interesting. In presenting their story of Lake Okeechobee and the region adjacent to this large body of water, the authors have, of necessity, somewhat overlapped the area covered by Marjory Stoneman Douglas in her work entitled *The Everglades, River of Grass,* a recent volume in "The Rivers of America Series." It would be impossible adequately to treat Lake Okeechobee without the Everglades, or vice versa, so intimately are the two connected. The Hannas, who are two of Florida's best-known writers, have collaborated to produce a book that gives the reader a fine opportunity to become acquainted with one of the more fascinating areas of Florida's diversified landscape. On the whole the authors have done well in their selection of subjects to be treated and those to be more lightly touched on and they are to be congratulated upon the excellence of arrangement and presentation. The twenty-nine chapters, from the background ones, "Big Water" and "Lake of Legend," to the closing chapter, "The Unfinished Work," give the reader vivid pictures of such intricate problems as the Disston land sale,

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Everglades drainage, Okeechobee water control, and the varied agricultural and industrial development of the lake area. Tall tales of the region and much of its amusing folklore are artistically woven into the story to the amusement and entertainment of the reader and without detracting from the more serious parts of the narrative. The format of this book is excellent, with good printing, clear maps, and attractive illustrations. *Lake Okeechobee* is a volume that one will like to read and like to keep. Despite a list of sources following each chapter and several pages of bibliographical notes at the end of the text, historians will regret the lack of documentation. A few errors should be pointed out, not in gratuitous criticism, but that they may be corrected in subsequent printings. Several times in the text and again in the index Governor Doyle E. Carlton appears as Doyle G. Carleton. Senator Claude D. Pepper is referred to in the biographical notes as Claude A. Pepper, and Harold L. Ickes in both text and index is rechristened Harold F. The election of Sidney J. Catts was in 1916 and not in 1917 as stated on page 171. A close and careful reading of this volume will well repay both the serious student and the casual reader. The Hannas have woven into their story much of the ancient mystery of the Big Water and Everglades while integrating them with the more modern phases of drainage, reclamation, and water control. JAMES MILLER LEAKE, *University of Florida*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

MIDWEST HERITAGE. By *John Drury*. (New York, A. A. Wyn, 1948, pp. 176, $5.00.) Americans apparently are fascinated by picture books that reproduce old illustrations and thereby help make tangible some of the color and flavor of earlier decades. An immense amount of charm and a lot of history are wrapped in engravings first published in such national publications as *Harper's Weekly* or Leslie's illustrated papers. John Drury not only selected his pictures from such journals but he also combed county histories, immigrant guidebooks, regional gazetteers, and the collections of historical societies in order to bring together material illustrating, as he says, the "heritage" of the great Valley of Democracy. His book, therefore, concerns itself with Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and also crosses the Mississippi River to Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. Knowing full well that politics was only one facet of the American experience, Drury, although he pays attention to government, also reproduces scenes of steamboat travel, of agricultural implements, of floods and forts, of theaters and taverns, and of the Indian menace. He includes illustrations of husking bees, singing schools, and baking days. He does not ignore the development of agricultural implements. An entire section is devoted to the land of Lincoln and another to the National Road. A first examination of this beautifully manufactured book, then, results in a most pleasant reaction. When, however, the volume is surveyed carefully, certain significant faults appear. The serious student, for example, would be benefited if the sources of each illustration were given and if each picture were dated. Then too, one wonders, in some instances, if the illustrations represent situations as they actually were. Perhaps these criticisms are unimportant to the general public, but they are of concern to the professional historian. Both groups, however, will be somewhat dissatisfied by the stilted narrative that accompanies the illustrations. In this narrative there are errors of fact which should not have been permitted to appear.

PHILIP D. JORDAN, *University of Minnesota*

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THE CHOSEN VALLEY: THE STORY OF A PIONEER TOWN. By *Margaret Snyder.* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1948, pp. 376, $4.00.) This title and the titles of the thirteen parts into which the story is divided might suggest fiction and ten brief interludes do assume fictional form. But the story is not fiction. It is critical history based upon intensive local research, the economic, social, and political history of the actual town of Chatfield, present population about 1,600, located in the Root River Valley in southern Minnesota in a section which actually became known as the Chosen Valley. It is local history unfolded in minute detail within a general framework of relevant American and European history and unfolded with a literary skill which justifies a book of 376 pages. The early development of the town is traced chronologically and is in part retraced and expanded in a topical treatment which follows and carries the development down to the generation now living in Chatfield. Beginning with Thomas Twiford, who selected the site of the town, the founding pioneers and many others are introduced by name with their individual backgrounds, reasons for migrating, special reasons for choosing the Chosen Valley, travel adventures, and careers in Chatfield or its environs. To the present reader, who grew up among the founding pioneers of another early Minnesota town and later lived for three years in the Root River Valley, the story brings a recapitulation and clarification of personal memories which accept as authentic almost every word about the Chatfield pioneers and their successors, about the town, and about the scenery before which the author often bows in sensitive admiration and with which the story ends. The framework of relevant American and European history is not quite so convincing. To credit each of the thirteen colonies with claims to "vast regions west of its actual settlement" (p. 37) or to include in the Louisiana Purchase "the whole western half of the continent" (p. 135) is not a mortal sin. But to interpret indomitable La Salle as only a character in "*opéra bouffe* absurdity" (p. 134) is, let us say and extend to some other interpretations in the framework, a bit jaunty and condescending. The book remains a vividly realistic contribution to the literature of pioneer life in Minnesota and, while written without reference to the territorial centennial now being celebrated throughout the state, deserves to be hailed as a welcome part of the celebration. HENRY JOHNSON, *New Rochelle, New York*

HORNS OF THUNDER: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JAMES M. GOODHUE, INCLUDING SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS. By *Mary Wheelhouse Berthel.* [Minnesota Centennial Publications, Number III.] (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1948, pp. xii, 276, $3.00.) The centennial of the Minnesota Territory coincides with the centennial of Minnesota journalism. It was therefore especially appropriate that among the centennial series should be a book on James M. Goodhue, who founded in 1849 the forerunner of the present St. Paul *Pioneer Press.* But entirely apart from this circumstance, the book would have been an important contribution to this phase of American history. A comprehensive biography of this vivid personality and the part he played in the early history of the Northwest through the editorship of the *Minnesota Pioneer* was in any case badly needed. Goodhue's talents and spirit were exactly what the new territory required. It is impossible to read this account of his editorship without believing that the influence of Goodhue on the development, the politics and the government, the manners and standards of the territory and nearby areas must have been tremendous. In the mirror which he created, Minnesota and all its advantages and merits was brought before the eyes of the America of his day; and the America of that time was brought to the new frontier. Mrs. Berthel brings to life this early and supreme example of the American booster, who conceived it his chief responsibility to bring before the world the claims of

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Minnesota; whose strength of opinion involved him once in a desperate gun and knife duel on the streets of St. Paul; who figured largely in the early political life of the territory; and who brought to bear on the daily affairs of his community a most unusual combination of editorial interests. The words of the foreword can scarcely be improved upon. "*Horns of Thunder* is not only the voice of Minnesota's infant hopes; it is also the biography of a remarkable man." He was in fact so remarkable that Mrs. Berthel creates the strong presumption that at least two of Mark Twain's famous badges of humor were really his property. The report of Mark Twain's death may have been greatly exaggerated, but, long before, the *Minnesota Pioneer,* which Mark Twain may well have read, announced that the report of the death of one of St. Paul's earliest men about town was "greatly exaggerated." The author and publisher were singularly fortunate in being able to illustrate this book with some twenty sketches of Minnesota scenes by a contemporary of Goodhue, heretofore not generally known. HERBERT LEWIS, *St. Paul, Minnesota*

PETER NORBECK: PRAIRIE STATESMAN. By *Gilbert Courtland Fite.* [The University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXII, No. 2.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1948, pp. 217, $2.50.) With the co-operation of the Norbeck family which opened the senator's files to him, Professor Fite of the University of Oklahoma has produced a useful biography of Peter Norbeck of South Dakota. The subtitle, "Prairie Statesman," indicates the author's conception of the stature of Peter Norbeck and few will dispute the interpretation. The circumstances of the coming of the Norbeck family of Norwegian immigrants to southern Dakota in 1868 and the birth of Peter in a prairie cellar home in Clay County in 1870 are similar to those described in O. E. Rölvaag's great novel *Giants in the Earth.* Norbeck's prairie boyhood, his ingenuity and shrewdness in capitalizing on the lack of water on the prairies by starting a well-drilling business, and his successful business career as senior partner of the state-wide well-drilling firm of Norbeck and Nicholson, form a good case study of economic conditions on the South Dakota frontier. The transition of Norbeck from business to politics as state senator, governor, and finally United States senator is an interesting study of the sources of political leadership in the prairie region. The tangled politics of South Dakota from the pre-World War I period through the years of the Nonpartisan League threat, the boom of the twenties, and the depression that followed, are the constant background of Norbeck's political career. Norbeck emerges as a shrewd reader of the political aspirations of the majority of the people of his state during his lifetime. His early support of the Theodore Roosevelt brand of Progressive Republicanism set the pattern that he followed more or less consistently. This is evidenced by his ardent conservationism, his championship of farm aid programs, his support of legislation for the control of business, and his ultimate support of many New Deal measures. The author sticks rather closely to the career of Norbeck himself, and the persons about him frequently become somewhat shadowy, especially members of his family, his partner in business, and his close friends. The book is at its best in dealing with the political and economic aspects of Norbeck's life. The bibliography and footnotes attest careful examination of available sources, with especially commendable use of newspapers. The primary materials are the Norbeck papers. There is a good index, but there is only one illustration, a photograph of Peter Norbeck as frontispiece. CARLTON C. QUALEY, *Carleton College*

CROSSROADS OF AMERICA: THE STORY OF KANSAS CITY. By *Darrell Garwood.* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1948, pp. 331, $4.00.) In this history of Kansas City and its region, the story is woven around interesting personalities who have had a

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part in developing the community, or in making it famous or infamous. Thomas Hart Benton, the senator, Thomas Hart Benton, the artist, Jesse and Frank James and Jesse jr., John Brown, William Rockhill Nelson of the *Star,* James and Tom Pendergast, Arthur E. Stilwell, the dreamer, plunger, and railroad builder, George C. Bingham, the politician and artist, and Kit Carson are some of the personalities chosen to serve as "anchor men" around whom to build the story of the development of the "Capital of the Cow Towns." The author has written an interesting and readable book. The style is vigorous and attractive but simple. The picture that emerges is not complete nor adequate and in no way is it definitive of Kansas City. The author does not claim to have attempted to do a definitive piece of work. He was aiming at reader interest and information. In this he succeeds. In choosing colorful personalities in a community that has its full measure of color, action, and conflict, the emphasis is on bloodshed, warfare, and struggle rather than on institutions, community leadership, civic development, and planning. Stilwell, Nelson, and Thomas H. Swope were community builders, but their struggles are emphasized rather than their more prosaic, constructive contributions. As an example, the trial of the young physician who was charged with the murder of Swope, is given forty pages but Swope is allowed only six. The James Boys are followed again on their devious paths, although they probably were in Kansas City only once on "professional" business. Another chapter is devoted to the trial for robbery of Jesse James, jr. It seems to be justified as an introduction for the two great trial lawyers and forensic giants, James A. Reed and Frank P. Walsh. After moving Reed and Walsh into the limelight, both are treated incidentally and sketchily. The development of the trade, transportation, manufacturing, labor, homes, and cultural life are not treated. Thus, the reader will find that he has a peep at the lusty side of the metropolis, but he will not know it, appreciate it, or know how it came to be. The author makes it clear in his acknowledgments that he has used quite a lot of materials but that he has not done a careful, painstaking job of research. He was hasty and not critical.

W. Francis English, *University of Missouri*

CALIFORNIA, FROM THE CONQUEST IN 1846 TO THE SECOND VIGILANCE COMMITTEE IN SAN FRANCISCO: A STUDY OF AMERICAN CHARACTER. By *Josiah Royce.* Introduction by Robert Glass Cleland. [Western Americana.] (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, pp. xxxvii, 394, xv, $4.00.) Unusual specifications and conditions for state historianship and interpretation of American character, these: youth (age thirty); love of one's native state, but removal from it (arrival in the Harvard department of philosophy should add perspective and distinction); unconcern with professional historiography; fondness for a dialectical method of reporting human affairs by moral comment on every event and condition; and Hegelian ideas of divine controls in history, and of "the State, the Social Order, that is divine." Yet Royce fits this bill, and Houghton Mifflin did well to place his book, two thirds of a century ago, in the American Commonwealth series; and now we owe great thanks to Dr. Cleland for a wise introduction to Royce the historical commentator, and to Knopf for new access to a little-read, different, and in certain areas, highly perceptive book. While few readers today will ponder the philosopher's long-winded legalistic arguments about all the rights and wrongs, individual and national, of the conquest of California, few will not be interested in his condemnation of Fremont, following interviews and documentary study, or will not be interested in his finding that Consul Larkin was in "every way by far the foremost of the men who won for us California" (p. 127). Even those, perhaps those most of all, who miss any economic understanding by Royce of California's glaringly economic society, will appreciate

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Royce's technological interpretation of the social development of the mining areas (pp. 223–24), and be the more persuaded by his perceptions of the influence of place on religious feeling (p. 194) and law—"The very appeal of the law of nature showed a certain lack of clearness in the settlers' mind about the state of law in the statute-books" (p. 196). And who has ever said more about the character of a national policy in as few words as Royce, where he speaks of the federal land law of 1851 as the course "peculiarly fitted to express our natural meanness and love of good order in one" (p. 369)? CHARLES A. BARKER, *Johns Hopkins University*

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES: 1945. No. 11. A SELECTIVE GUIDE TO MATERIAL PUBLISHED IN 1945 ON ANTHROPOLOGY, ARCHIVES, ART, ECONOMICS, EDUCATION, FOLKLORE, GEOGRAPHY, GOVERNMENT, HISTORY, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, LABOR AND SOCIAL WELFARE, LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, LAW, LIBRARIES, MUSIC AND PHILOSOPHY. Edited by *Miron Burgin* for the Library of Congress. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. ix, 404, $7.00.) The eleventh *Handbook*, dedicated to the recording of "the more significant publications relating to Latin America in the fields of the social sciences and the humanities," continues to provide an excellent guide to recently published books, documents, and periodical materials, as well as information concerning archives and manuscript collections. The introductory general statements to each section often, but not always, present thoughtful analysis and evaluation of current research and scholarship. A special article, "Important Acquisitions in U. S. Libraries," by Ruth L. Butler, offers a most useful service. There are 3,977 entries in this issue, and most are accompanied by descriptive comment. While the number is somewhat less than in previous years, continued wartime problems, including publication and delivery lags, will account for this in part. Anthropological field research, apparently, has had to meet particularly severe restrictions. On the other hand, archives, art, folklore, government, and literature section editors report increasing activity for 1945. There are editors who bemoan more than quantitative deficiencies. With some exceptions the publications in history were not considered outstanding and criticism was leveled at the antiquarian and narrow scholarship interest of Latin Americans. The inadequate nature of ethnological studies, and the failure to record and analyze current economic conditions also was made apparent. Again, however, section editors of art, language and literature, folklore, labor and social welfare, government, and international relations were generally encouraging. There were "exceptionally useful contributions to the study of the colonial literature and culture of Hispanic America" (p. 266). And, concerning art: "Publications . . . are no longer a bibliographical curiosity . . . Latin Americans themselves continue, persistently and with increasing understanding, to explore their national heritage" (p. 56).

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

THE INDIANS OF THE AMERICAS. By *John Collier.* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1947, pp. 326, $3.75.) The reviewer can speak only in the highest terms of this work. Indeed anyone who knows the lifelong and profound interest of the author in the American Indians and their culture is more than ready to welcome anything from Mr. Collier about the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the New World. In this volume he gives a moving picture of the four centuries of misery, oppression, and forced labor under which so many Indians suffered. Through it all they preserved the most distinct qualities of their original personality, notably that cosmic mysticism that has always identified them physically and spiritually with nature. He traces the evolution of the Indian from the first groups arriving on the western shores to the present types with special reference to the Indians of Peru, Mexico, and the United States. He portrays the high culture of the Incas, never entirely lost, and typified in the "ayllu," a socio-economic organization where "all must work, the work must not be excessively fatiguing, nor prolonged and none should suffer extreme want." The reviewer appreciates especially the understanding Mr. Collier brings to his treatment of the pre-Columbian Mexicans and their later history and their present hopes and aspirations. Naturally, the author speaks with especial force and mastery when he follows the fate of the North American Indians from the sixteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century. It is not a history of which the white man can be proud. Spoliation, persecution, and purposeful extermination too often characterize it. That the account can end on a happier note is due in large part to what was done after 1930 by Mr. Collier as commissioner of Indian Affairs, supported by President Roosevelt. To have redeemed the record makes not the Indian alone but the white citizen the debtor of both.

MANUEL GAMIO, *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Mexico, D. F.*

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NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

HISTORIA DE LA CUESTION FRONTERIZA DOMINICO-HAITIANA. Tomo I. By *Manuel Arturo Peña Batlle.* (Ciudad Trujillo, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Santo Domingo, 1946, pp. 476.) The first volume of Dr. Peña Batlle's *Historia de la Cuestión Fronteriza Dominico-Haitiana* was completed in 1928 but the delay in publication perhaps was fortunate. During the preparation of the *Colección Trujillo* which celebrated the 450th anniversary of Columbus' voyage, the distinguished minister of foreign affairs encountered many documents hitherto unknown. As a result he has now produced what will undoubtedly be recognized as the definitive description, at least from the Dominican standpoint, of the boundary squabbles which up to 1901 kept unsettled the relations between the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo. The book begins with an introduction describing the causes which lead to social and political dualism in the island of Haiti. Blame for it the author lays at the door of Spain's yielding control of the northern coast to French freebooters in 1605. Then follow six books covering diplomatic relations during the colonial period, the struggle for independence, first from Spain and then from Haiti, the Spanish intervention of 1861, the forty years of fruitless negotiations from 1865 to 1895, and finally the failure of arbitration in 1901. The users of the book will appreciate the clear type, the

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excellent bibliography, the index of personal names, the index of place names, the general index and the appendix which contains the text of fourteen important documents. They will regret the poor reproduction of two maps and portions of four documents. The author announces a second volume. It should be welcome if for nothing else than the promise it will contain *"la política revisionista y constructiva del Presidente Trujillo."* OSGOOD HARDY, *Occidental College*

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PIONEER TELEGRAPHY IN CHILE, 1852–1876. By *John J. Johnson.* [Stanford University Publications, University Series, History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume VI, Number 1.] (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1948, pp. 159, $2.50.) After a long period of devoting their attention to colonial matters, American scholars are doing more research in the national period of the history of the Latin American nations. This work is an instance. The author has done extended research in the archives and libraries of Chile and other countries and has used his materials well. The inclusive dates of the title mark the opening of the first telegraph in Chile and the linking of Chile with the transatlantic cable via Buenos Aires. In between, the author traces the history of the project: beginnings by private initiative, continuance by the state, linking of the more populous parts of Chile, the economics of the task, and the administration of the lines. He concludes with a significant chapter, "The Impact of Telegraphy on Chilean Society." Difficulties were many; geography, technical ignorance, delay in securing materials from abroad and, by no means least, the penchant of the Chilean *campesino* to make use of the wires and poles of the line for his own convenience. However, by 1876, the nation had some 1,600 miles of line in

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operation. While involved sentences and a questionable choice of words here and there might be criticized, the work on the whole is commendable. It is to be hoped that other scholars may be attracted to this field. It is both interesting and significant and many parts of it have been neglected by native Latin American historians.

WATT STEWART, *State College for Teachers, Albany, New York*

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Historical News

The Sixty-Third Annual Meeting

I

The sixty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association took place on December 28, 29, and 30 at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C. Eleven allied societies met jointly with the Association. Forty-five sessions were held during the three days, and the program carried the names of one hundred eighty-two persons, of whom one hundred and three delivered papers. Even so, there seem to have been none too many sessions to accommodate the assembled throng, for it was the fate of latecomers at many meetings to find standing room only, in some cases not even inside the doors.

Increased railroad fares and other high prices failed to dampen the annual conclave and outing. The final count showed a total of 1,332 persons registered, almost a hundred more than the previous high established at New York in 1946. Many who had attempted to reserve rooms at the headquarters hotel were disappointed, not only because of the large total numbers, but because so many canny colleagues had reserved their rooms long before the program was mailed, though it was mailed in the second week of November. Members of the program and local arrangements committees, only too aware of the effects of inflation on people like themselves, were agreeably surprised to find that the cost of dinners and luncheon-conferences proved not too forbidding; almost all dinners and luncheons were booked to capacity, and 560 persons attended the presidential dinner. There were times when many wondered whether it is possible, on purely quantitative grounds, for the Association to go on in future years holding its annual meeting in any single hotel, in the way to which we have become accustomed.

The program committee, consisting of Shepard B. Clough, W. F. Craven, and Felix Gilbert, together with the undersigned as chairman, began its planning almost a year in advance. Relations were soon established with the local arrangements chairman, Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, who with his assistant, Robert Osborn Mead, bore the unenviable burden of foreseeing and coping with the problems of housing, registering, and bookkeeping, of arranging for the dinners and luncheons, for a certain number of events not listed on the printed program, for the publishers' exhibits, the publicity, and the innumerable details of the sort that seldom meet the eye. To Dean Kayser and his co-workers, to the management and to the waiters and other employees of the hotel, the Association is indebted for smooth operations in a situation that seemed sometimes to verge on the impossible. Those who were able to go will remember likewise with particular pleasure the trip to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, where members of the

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Association and their wives visited the grounds and met the staff, transported both ways by Navy buses. To our host on this occasion, Rear Admiral J. L. Holloway, jr., and to Captain Heffernan in Washington we must again express our appreciation.

The program committee, at the outset of its planning, attempted to provide as broad as possible a basis of participation in the program. A ground rule was adopted (to which a few exceptions were later made) that no one who had appeared on the program in the preceding two years should be invited to take part; the purpose was of course to favor those who had either never or not recently appeared. An especial effort was made to recruit younger scholars, on the theory that their introduction to professional associates was one of the most useful functions the convention could perform, but to mix them in the same sessions with scholars of established standing, who would be likely to draw audiences and would speak with authority on their subjects. It was also thought desirable to have a wide geographical representation, resisting the tendency to draw a very high proportion of participants from the region in which the convention was planned and held. Of the 182 persons who were finally scheduled as speakers, discussion leaders, or chairmen, the Middle Atlantic region supplied 29 per cent, the Middle West 22 per cent, New England and Washington, D. C., each 14 per cent, the West 11 per cent and the South 10 per cent.

The year being 1948, it was decided to celebrate the centennial of the Revolution of 1848. At the same time it was obvious, in view of the diversity of interests within the Association, that this subject would lack appeal for many members; and the committee was aware of the widely felt critical attitude toward "unifying themes," especially themes involving the artificiality of centennials or other phenomena of the decimal system. It was decided to have no more than a third of the meetings deal with 1848; as it turned out eighteen out of forty-five meetings did so, so that the one third proportion was exceeded. About a third of the meetings were arranged by affiliated societies (thirteen meetings by eleven societies); and two bodies within the American Historical Association itself, namely the Conference on Latin American Studies and the Modern European History Section, planned and staged three of the meetings. The program committee owes its thanks to the individuals who planned these joint sessions. At the same time the committee undertook to limit these joint meetings to about a third of those carried on the official program, in the belief that to have more than this proportion would give an overspecialized and disunited character to the convention. The remaining sessions, those neither dealing with 1848 nor arising from affiliated bodies, were projected by the program committee, or by persons acting in its behalf, to give coverage to fields, areas, or periods which required attention. Among these categories of meetings there was overlapping; two affiliated societies presented papers on 1848, and others, to the great satisfaction of the program committee, gave their attention to fields in which the coverage was otherwise too

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light. This was especially true of United States history. A final analysis shows that about a third of the sessions dealt with 1848, another third with one aspect or another of the history of the United States, and a final third with a wide array of other topics.

II

It is convenient to begin with the last and most miscellaneous third, in which some of the most notable of the meetings were included. Deserving first mention among these, and always the pre-eminent event for members of the Association, was the presidential dinner, at which, as noted already, well over five hundred people filled the main ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel. Dean Kayser presented General Ulysses S. Grant III, who acted as toastmaster and civic host. He in turn felicitously introduced, in the after-dinner sense, introduction as such being hardly necessary, the president of the American Historical Association, Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale University, who delivered a memorable address on "The Christian Understanding of History." Readers of this *Review* will have had the opportunity to read and ponder his paper, published as it is in the January number, and raising some of the deeper and more far-reaching problems in the interpretation of the world's destinies. At the dinner also, as is customary, the award of prizes was announced.

The first award of the James Hazen Hyde Prize was made to Louis R. Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, for the manuscript of his book, "Lafayette between the American Revolution and the French Revolution." The John H. Dunning Prize was presented to William E. Livezey, of the University of Oklahoma, for his *Mahan and Sea Power,* with honorable mention to Robert Luther Thompson for his book, *Wiring a Continent.* The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize was won by Raymond de Roover for his book, *The Medici Bank: Its Organization, Management, Operations, and Decline.* The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Award went to Donald Fleming for his manuscript, "John William Draper and the Religion of Science," with honorable mention to Clement G. Motten of Temple University for his manuscript, "Mexican Silver and the Enlightenment: A Study in the Promotion of Useful Knowledge." Both these manuscripts will be published in the Beveridge series.

Two other repasts gave an opportunity to hear ideas from outside the strict fraternity of historical scholars. At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association the speaker was Mr. Joseph A. Brandt, who, though in truth a historian in his own right, brought to bear the experience of one who has been also a college president and head of three different university presses and of a great New York publishing house. Mr. Brandt spoke on "A New Role for the Historian." He urged that historians, without loss of time in a fast-moving age, make the attempt, perhaps in concert with labor organizations, to publish brief and simply written pamphlets in history for mass reading. At the luncheon confer-

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ence of the Agricultural History Society the originally announced speaker, Mr. Dennis A. Fitzgerald of the Department of Agriculture, was debarred from appearing by official duties which called him from Washington. The society and its numerous friends were much favored by Mr. Norris E. Dodd, director general of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, who spoke on the work, problems, and purposes of that superlatively important body. His talk was warmly appreciated by the large audience which heard it.

Three meetings dealt with aspects of the inexhaustible subject of Asia. Albert Howe Lybyer of the University of Illinois presided at a session on the Near East, at which three papers were read. Lewis V. Thomas of Princeton presented a report on "Ottoman Awareness of Europe, 1650 to 1800." As a whole, he found, even educated Turks had little knowledge of Western Europe in the seventeenth century. They received and used some Western products, and they were sometimes at war with Central Europe. But having no newspapers, and even no printing until well into the eighteenth century, they lacked means of acquiring information. Nevertheless a few, by travel, conversations, or reading, developed a keen interest in the West, and imparted it to limited circles of friends. Noteworthy among these was Hajji Khalfa, whose great activity was made very clear by Mr. Thomas. Dr. Vernon J. Puryear of California developed from French Foreign Office material "The Genesis of the Bonapartean Expedition to Egypt." This, he declared, was far more than the individual plan of a brilliant young general. Various persons assisted in forming the policies of the expedition, such as the hope of marching through Palestine and Syria toward India or Constantinople, the assembling of a group of scientists to study the antiquities of Egypt, and the detailing of practical men to investigate natural resources, the use of the Nile waters, and the possibility of a Suez canal. Dr. Frederick S. Rodkey discussed acutely, on the basis of memorandums taken in the British Foreign Office, the "Ottoman Awareness of the Challenge of the West in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." He covered closely the years 1850 to 1856. Many Turks were then anxious for "reforms," such as might modernize their country in a salutary way, but they were afraid of Western financial assistance. They feared long-time contracts for payment, and the pledging of such resources as the Egyptian Tribute and the customs receipts of important cities. But the vast expenditures during the Crimean War broke down their resistance. In the end they accepted loans on unfavorable terms, which moreover served as precedents for later loans that led to national disaster.

"India and Pakistan since Partition" formed the subject of another session, at which W. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania was the chairman. One paper, by Daniel and Alice Thorner, also of Pennsylvania, dealt with the general problem of "Hindu-Muslim Relations." While acknowledging the basic importance of cultural differences, the paper dealt with economic disparities and political rivalries between Hindus and Muslims. The most influential of these, it

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was observed, came into being in the nineteenth century as part of the process of transforming India from a self-sufficient economy into a subordinate part of the metropolitan economy of Great Britain. The authors analyzed the incidence of these changes upon the two communities, and concluded that partition, far from resolving the problems, has transferred them into economic disparity and political rivalry at the international level between the Dominions of India and Pakistan. Phillips Talbot, of the Institute of Current World Affairs, in a paper on the "Kashmir and Hyderabad Issues," discussed the background of each conflict, the steps by which each had progressed, the appeals to the United Nations, and present status. In the discussion Dr. Imdad Husain of the embassy of Pakistan, and Mr. S. K. Shastri of the embassy of India, vigorously presented their respective sides; there were many additional comments from the floor. A third paper on "Constitution-Framing" was read by Holden Furber of Pennsylvania. He dealt primarily with India's draft constitution, since it is in a more advanced stage of development than that of Pakistan. This draft, which describes India as a sovereign democratic republic and as a "Union of States," owes much both to Anglo-American precedents and to the legal and administrative framework of the former imperial regime. The constitutional structure is unitary rather than federal, the executive's "emergency" powers great rather than small, and constitutional amendment easy rather than hard.

In keeping with the general attention to the Revolution of 1848, the session on modern Chinese history, with Knight Biggerstaff of Cornell as chairman, was devoted to the contemporary but otherwise unrelated revolutionary movement of the T'aip'ing rebellion (1850–64). Eugene P. Boardman of Wisconsin, in a paper entitled "Biblical Influence upon the Ideology of the T'aip'ing Rebellion," showed that the T'aip'ing leader Hung Hsiu-ch'üan failed to take over the more humanitarian Christian teachings, confining his borrowings for the most part to those elements of the Bible which strengthened his control of the masses and the discipline and devotion of his soldiers. The T'aip'ings adopted enough foreign ideas to turn the Chinese literati class against them, yet at the same time the unorthodoxy of their use of Biblical doctrines alienated the Christian missionaries and other foreigners. In his comments Ssŭ-yü Têng, of the University of Chicago, stated his belief that the T'aip'ing leaders were actually more influenced by Taoism than by Christianity. In a paper entitled "Military Organization and the Power Structure of China during the T'aip'ing Rebellion," Franz H. Michael (University of Washington) related the rise of local armed bands first to the development of the T'aip'ing military organization and later to the formation of provincial armies which ultimately put down the rebellion. In both cases the military development was related to local demands for economic reform. The victorious provincial troops, who continued to be the only soldiers at the disposal of the emperor, tended thereafter to remain regional in their orientation. Charles C. Stelle (Department of State) underlining some of Dr. Michael's principal

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points, called attention to the importance of the T'aip'ing rebellion to an understanding of the current civil war in China. John K. Fairbank of Harvard, then closed the discussion with a brief comparison of the T'aip'ing rebels with the present-day Chinese Communists under the headings of ideology, leadership, reform programs, regionalism, and foreign support.

To the affairs of Latin America two meetings were devoted. At the luncheon session of the Conference on Latin American History, presided over by Lewis Hanke, a large audience heard a discussion of the role of history in the program of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Brief talks were given by Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania, Paul Daniels of the Department of State, Robert H. Randall, vice-president of the Pan American Institute, and Dr. Silvio Zavala of Mexico, who serves as chairman of the institute's commission on history. George P. Hammond of the University of California also spoke on the various programs now under consideration to bring microfilm copies of historical materials on Latin American history to libraries in this country.

Later that afternoon, at a meeting devoted to Latin American historiography, Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College read a paper entitled "Social and Economic Aspects of the Era of Spanish-American Independence." The social results of the struggles for independence were many, he said, and varied from one country to another. In general many people were driven from their homes, livestock expropriated, families uprooted, communications dislocated, commerce injured by privateering, but there were also beneficial results, for careers in the public service were opened to the lower castes, a freer trade sprang up in various countries, access was gained to foreign markets, and mental horizons were widened. Lesley B. Simpson of the University of California talked about "Thirty Years of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*." He pointed out that more than 40 per cent of the leading articles were concerned with the nineteenth century, only 2 per cent with the fifteenth. He found that, excluding articles of general interest, 24 per cent dealt with Mexico, 11.5 per cent with Brazil, and so on down to Portugal. With respect to subject, the distribution ranged from diplomatic history with 28 per cent to social history with 12 per cent. His chief concern was with the book review section of the *Review,* which he held had fallen into "disrepute," like that of other learned journals. He deplored "the general reticence, diffidence, courtesy, or timidity" of the reviewers. There should, he thought, be fewer reviews, but longer and better ones; he cited the classic reviews of Macaulay. In the discussion Howard F. Cline of Yale declared that the contributors to the *Hispanic American Historical Review* had freed a vast field from Hispanicists and American historians and had created a field of scholarship in the United States. Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas declared that there was no general upheaval in Spanish America against Spanish rule, and that a majority of the Spanish-American colonists were contented in 1807, the revolt being

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occasioned by the Napoleonic intrusion into Spain, and won by a smaller percentage of the people than in the case of the thirteen colonies. However, he thought that the topics mentioned by Professor Griffin deserved to be developed. With respect to the *Hispanic American Review,* Mr. Hackett, presenting an analysis of his own, concluded that the journal accurately reflected the interests of scholars. He agreed in the main with the criticisms leveled at book reviews.

The ancient history session, with Mason Hammond of Harvard presiding, dealt with "Cultural Exchange between the Ancient East and West." Professor George M. A. Hanfmann of Harvard showed that the contact of "Greeks and Persians in Asia Minor before Alexander" did not lead to any real cultural exchange or any imposition of the culture of either on the native Anatolian population. The important effect of Persia on Greek thought was that the existence of the Persian Empire rendered the Greeks more conscious of their own liberty and independence. C. A. Alexander of Brown discussed "Alexander the Great and the Barbarian World." He showed how Alexander's plans developed from a Panhellenic crusade into the concept of an ecumenical empire in which both Greeks and barbarians should participate. His ideals were not continued by his successors so that there was no real opportunity for the development of a cultural merger between Greeks and Iranians except in Bactria. R. A. Brooks of Harvard analyzed "Hellenistic and Roman in Cato, Polybius, and Ennius." Cato, despite his use of Hellenistic literary forms, opposed the reception of Hellenism by Rome. Polybius, Scipio Aemilianus, and, in an earlier generation, Ennius consciously promoted the fusion of Hellenic culture and Roman traditional ways of life. Hence was laid the foundation for a development in which the Roman spirit found expression through Greek forms. T. H. Erck of Vassar College showed that as between "Roman and Greek Elements in the Eastern Roman Empire," the former were practical, in the fields of civil and military engineering, in warfare, and in administration and in law. In the cultural sphere, Rome made no impression on the Greek tradition perpetuated by Byzantium. He compared this relation of Roman and Greek to that of the impact of the United States today on Europe and concluded that culture does not pass easily from West to East. Professor Glanville Downey of Dumbarton Oaks being unable to act as commentator, Professor Hammond briefly summarized the discussion.

To the European Middle Ages three sessions were devoted. At the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America, Professor François L. Ganshof of the University of Ghent, who had arrived in the late afternoon from Europe for a first visit in America, presented a vigorous analysis of Charlemagne. He examined carefully five distinctive periods of the king-emperor's career and pointed out the empirical characteristics of the Frankish monarch who had, in fact, an untrained mind and was not a man to deal with abstractions. The monarch was finally impressed by his imperial position but had sufficient sense of reality to realize the importance of its kingly basis. Robert L. Reynolds of the University

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of Wisconsin presided at the dinner and expressed the regret of all present that Sir Maurice and Lady Powicke were unable to accept the invitation of the Academy to attend. The Reverend Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., was unable to give the Latin grace as had been planned but thoughtfully sent a grace taken from a tenth century manuscript. This was read in his absence by the Reverend Charles P. Loughran, S.J., of Fordham University.

The two other medieval sessions dealt respectively with the earlier and the later Middle Ages. At the former, presided over by Einar Joranson of Chicago, William C. Bark presented "Some Observations on the Pirenne Thesis." He suggested that the time may have come to reject Pirenne's idea that the medieval period in Europe resulted from the westward expansion of Islam. Mr. Bark placed the beginnings of the transition to the Middle Ages not later than the fourth century, and brought in many considerations in support of this view—among them the establishment of the Germanic kingdoms in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, which was judged to be a truly fundamental change. Archibald R. Lewis (South Carolina), in commenting on Mr. Bark's paper, held that the main weakness of Pirenne's thesis lies in his having mistakenly ascribed the radical changes of the eighth century to a sea blockade by the Moslems. From 718 to about 827, naval control of the Mediterranean was held by Byzantium, which deliberately withheld trade from ports where the Carolingians were dominant, so that, when the western Moslems broke Byzantium's naval hold, their commercial policy with respect to the Franks essentially continued the Byzantine. Floyd S. Lear (Rice Institute) then delivered a paper on "The Public Law of the Visigoths," which he found to be undeniably permeated with the atmosphere of the Roman Law, but yet to reveal the presence of Germanic ideas in its provisions relating to offenses against the state. He pointed out that the deferential allegiance of imperial Rome is replaced by contractual allegiance, and that the crime of treason, including high treason, is characterized as *infidelitas—i.e.,* broken faith. The facts, in Mr. Lear's judgment, tended to re-direct attention to the Germanic contribution in the foundations of medieval civilization. Father A. K. Ziegler (Catholic University), in his comments, suggested, among other things, a study of early uses of the word *fidelitas* to ascertain when it began to be employed in the technical sense it has in the Visigothic Code. In an animated discussion from the floor, Oscar Halecki (Fordham) contended that Pirenne's main point will preserve its essential worth; Pirenne's intention was to bring into focus the difference between the ancient world as a Mediterranean community and the medieval world as the European community. Gerhart Ladner (Notre Dame) noted that Mr. Bark's view finds support in the recent conclusions of Henri Focillon concerning the un-Roman character of Merovingian art, but he believed the impact of Islam contributed greatly toward making Europe conscious of its unity. Professor Ganshof, a former pupil of Pirenne, agreed with Mr. Bark in thinking that Pirenne had vastly exaggerated the role of the Islamic invasion; he stated

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that he had made known this opinion to his master, and he brought forward several pertinent considerations, additional to those urged by Mr. Bark.

Gray C. Boyce of Northwestern presided at the session on the later Middle Ages, at which two papers were read, one by Josiah Cox Russell of the University of New Mexico, and one by Robert S. Hoyt of the University of Iowa. Mr. Russell's paper (read in his absence by J. R. Strayer of Princeton) dealt with "Some Research Possibilities in Medieval Spanish History." He suggested fruitful topics of investigation—monastic activities, intellectual history and especially the development of Spanish cathedral schools and universities, urban developments, the Reconquest as a phase of Christian colonization and crusading, and the possible role of the "short dark folk" as a pastoral group in the Iberian peninsula. Robert S. Smith of Duke, as friendly critic, suggested further topics for research, including epidemics, public health administration, the grain trade, slave trade, money, finance and taxation. Mr. Hoyt, in a paper on "Royal Policy and the Growth of the Realm in Medieval England," supported the thesis that the monarchy, by conscious and deliberate acts, had a definite and long-range end in view from the twelfth century on. Margaret Hastings, of the New Jersey College for Women, agreeing with the speaker's general position, suggested further attention to the growth of royal justice, where she believed that the connection between what men thought and what they did could be most clearly traced.

A paper by Jack H. Hexter of Queen's College, on "The Myth of the Middle Classes in Tudor England," provided a lively and mildly disputatious session on the early modern period. Louis B. Wright, director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and authority on the Elizabethan middle class, was in the chair. Mr. Hexter contended that the concept of the middle class, for Tudor England, was so vague and so subject to fluctuating meanings, from a narrow sense embracing only merchants to a broad sense embracing almost the whole population, as to be almost useless in the analysis of the period, and he questioned whether it is very illuminating to say that the Tudor monarchy was built up with middle-class support. Four others then discussed Mr. Hexter's thesis with respect to four other "new monarchies" of the sixteenth century: Garrett Mattingly of Columbia for Spain, Myron P. Gilmore of Harvard for France, Raymond de Roover of Wells College for Burgundy, and John J. Murray of Indiana for the Scandinavian countries. Interesting variants among the several monarchies were observed.

The early modern age was treated also in a session on "The Working of the Old Diplomacy." Allan Evans of the State Department presided. John B. Wolf of Minnesota spoke on "War and Diplomacy and the Rise of the Great Powers, 1683–1721." He thought that in tracing the rise of the modern state too much attention had been paid to legal aspects, as in the treaties of Westphalia, or to constitutional changes, as in the Glorious Revolution; he pointed out the importance of systematic bureaucracy and of a permanent military force based upon

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increasing economic power, and suggested as a critical date the war of the League of Augsburg, in which the impact of French power, the first to be based upon these forces, impelled other states to adopt similar aspects of modernity in self-defense. Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr entitled her paper "A Whig Diplomat Reports"; she analyzed Robert Molesworth's relation of his mission to Denmark to show, not only his stimulating personal crotchets but also the observations of a disapproving Whig upon the new French style of the Danish constitution. The extent of his reading public suggests that Molesworth's ideas may have had influence in various fields upon which he touched, notably in education. Arthur Wilson of Dartmouth spoke on "Changing Concepts in the Diplomacy of the *Ancien Régime*." During the eighteenth century, as the influence of religious differences progressively declined, diplomatists, in estimating the capabilities of other nations, dwelt increasingly on considerations of power and economics. The concept of natural frontiers was less influential in France than is sometimes thought; the French, while tending to neglect naval power and the influence of new military developments, showed a new-found appreciation of other factors such as international public opinion.

Three meetings (within the general category of those dealing neither with the United States nor with the Revolution of 1848) took up problems faced by historians as teachers. A joint session with the National Council of the Social Studies was presided over by Mr. Lewis Paul Todd, editor of *Social Education*. There were two papers, by Erling M. Hunt of Teachers College, Columbia, and by Robert E. Keohane of the college of the University of Chicago. Mr. Hunt, speaking on "History and the Other Social Studies in the Program of General Education," defined general education as an education intended neither for specialists nor for an elite. In the social studies its primary aim is to make the social world intelligible to an unselected student body at the secondary or college level. This aim, he felt, was not to be achieved through any one curriculum pattern, but depended on teachers and instructional resources, on the use made of sample national histories, or of narrative and descriptive detail to give color and action, and on the presentation of historical and social-science methods as skills to be learned by students whatever content might be selected. Mr. Keohane, presenting "The Great Debate on the Source Method," drew on his own experience in using historical sources in classes at Chicago, and traced the arguments pro and con on the source method since the 1890's. If sources are employed only as illustrative materials, he said, they tend to drop out of use; they should be used as raw material with which the student learns to think critically and draw conclusions. An active discussion followed.

There was also a meeting devoted exclusively to the college freshman course in history. R. F. Arragon of Reed College presided and summarized; papers were read by George Mosse of the University of Iowa and Dwight C. Miner of Columbia, each on the introductory course given at his own institution. The aim of the

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"History of Western Civilization" at Iowa, as described by Mr. Mosse, is to acquaint students with the basic data of modern history chiefly through narrative provided by lecture and textbook, reviewed in weekly section meetings and supplemented by brief illustrations from primary materials. That of the Columbia contemporary civilization course, as described by Mr. Miner, is to examine the development of modern institutions and ideas chiefly through the study in conference groups of selected documents and other writings, with a minimum of textbook continuity. Some American history is included with European at Iowa, but at Columbia American materials are reserved for a sophomore course. Historians alone (the professor in charge and graduate assistants) handle the Iowa course, whereas at Columbia teachers of various ranks from various departments collaborate. The Iowa methods reflect emphasis upon the learning of facts as a necessary preliminary to the drawing of inferences; the Columbia course looks to the encouragement of historical thinking by interpreting historical materials and situations. Hence the one is concerned with chronological coverage, the other is more selective, though not so intensively as to prevent the recognition of continuities. Other ways of focusing attention upon specific matters were referred to briefly in discussion—problems, as at Yale; cities as foci of civilization, as at Pennsylvania; literature joined to political, philosophical, and other writings and documents, as in the humanities course at Reed. It was noted that such courses might have to yield to the narrative course in suitability for large state universities, but this, as well as other issues, was not resolved in the brief time for discussion.

A joint meeting with the American Military Institute addressed itself to the problem of "The Study of Military History in American Colleges and Universities." Douglas S. Freeman presided, and papers were read by James Phinney Baxter of Williams, Robert G. Albion of Princeton, and Theodore Ropp of Duke. President Baxter, noting that the college president is forced by budgetary pressure to decide which things are more important than others, argued that the teaching of military history is one of the more important, war having molded American life quite as much as the frontier; we must today especially, with the destruction of the overseas balance of power on which we formerly relied, give students a firm understanding of the effects of war upon general history, and we should expect the effects of war—economic, political, cultural—to receive attention from all departments of instruction. Mr. Albion reviewed his own experience in teaching military history to ROTC students, and noted with satisfaction the progress of advanced research in military problems, as at the Institute for Advanced Study. Mr. Ropp turned more especially to introductory courses in military history, which he urged should be offered as widely as possible, war being a vital subject for all social science. What is most needed practically, he said, is bibliographical guidance and a list of basic works for the average college library.

Two other sessions on matters of teaching, one dealing with programs in

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American civilization, and one with the teaching of state history, are noted in the immediately following section.

III

Fifteen meetings in one way or another took up American history. Four of these touched also upon facets of the Revolution of 1848—a meeting on the German "forty-eighters" in the United States, a paper in another meeting on the Jewish "forty-eighters," a third meeting on the contrasting views of John C. Calhoun and Horace Greeley toward the 1848 revolution in Europe, and at a fourth meeting a paper on American isolationism in connection with 1848. These are grouped with the other materials on 1848 below.

Of widest interest to those present, and certainly one of the high points of the three days' activity, was a session on "Fifty Years of American Foreign Policy" which filled the Ball Room with a large and deeply attentive audience. Walter Lippmann was in the chair. Edward Mead Earle of the Institute for Advanced Study spoke on "Our Stake in Europe," followed by Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins on "The United States and Asia." Mr. Earle observed that although the United States was admitted to the circle of the Great Powers at the end of the Spanish-American War, this was only the confirmation of a situation which had gradually developed throughout the nineteenth century. He noted that it meant no change in the presumptions of American foreign policy to be interventionist in the Americas and the Far East, while remaining isolationist with respect to Europe. He characterized this as a dangerous paradox, since Far Eastern developments depended on the European power constellation. Only with the end of the Second World War, he said, have the people of the United States realized that they are "an integral part of Western European civilization and have a vital interest in its survival." He charged historians with part of the responsibility for the tardy realization of their true position by the American people. Historians, he thought, have discussed American foreign policy too much from a "legalistic rather than broadly political" point of view. They have concentrated on the rights and wrongs of Wilson's concept of neutrality, instead of criticizing him for his intermittent awareness of the challenge which the rise of Germany represented to American security. From an antipathy to British imperialism, they failed to appreciate the other important change in the power constellation of the last fifty years, namely the decline of British power with its implications for the position of the United States. Mr. Lattimore discussed the changing conditions within which American foreign policy worked in the Far East, particularly in China. The general line of development, he held, was that the Far East from being "under control" had got "out of control," and he characterized the various stages by which this development took place. The most important steps were the Open Door policy, which, in order to prevent annexation of Chinese territory by Russia,

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initiated the process; the Chinese Revolution, which was strong enough to carry out internal reforms, but not strong enough to exclude foreigners; the Russian Revolution, which brought to Asia the realization of the existence of a quarrel among the Great Powers and the possibility of its exploitation; and finally Japan's aggression, which proved that one Far Eastern power had got "out of control." Mr. Lattimore emphasized that most of the present conflicts in the Far East derive from the fact that the other powers realize only slowly and incompletely that the time of outside control for Asia has passed. Mr. Lippmann, in his concluding words, expressed his full agreement with the two speakers, but emphasized the dangers of a vague and unselected universalism, believing it necessary to decide where the vital interests of the United States end.

The American Revolution formed the subject for a session under that title, presided over by Thomas J. Wertenbaker of Princeton, past president of the Association, and featuring a single paper by Lawrence H. Gipson of Lehigh, who, drawing on the monumental work of which he is the author, spoke on "The American Revolution as an Aftermath of the Great War for the Empire, 1754–63." Mr. Gipson contended that the so-called French and Indian War should be termed the Great War, since it was fought for the mastery of a continent and determined the fact that the controlling civilization should be English and not French. He thought also that the overthrow of French power in America was a determining factor in bringing on the Revolution, since so long as the colonists faced the threat of French domination they could have no thought of renouncing the protection of the British navy and British armies. Mr. Gipson emphasized the imperial approach to the causes of the Revolution rather than the economic approach or the constitutional approach, dwelling upon the necessity which confronted the ministry of organizing the vast empire and upon the heavy financial burdens which the Great War had entailed and the justice of calling upon the colonies to help. Referring to the famous Parson's Cause in Virginia, he thought that Patrick Henry's pleas were illogical and that a great injustice had been done the clergy. The discussion was led by Professor J. Bartlett Brebner, of Columbia University, and Professor A. L. Burt, of the University of Minnesota.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, whose dinner has been mentioned, met in a joint session with the A.H.A. on Tuesday afternoon. George E. Mowry of the University of Iowa examined "The California Progressive and his Rationale: A Study in Middle Class Politics," and Walter Johnson of the University of Chicago presented "Some Vexing Problems in Writing Contemporary History." Mr. Mowry assembled biographical data on forty-seven of the less than one hundred progressive organizers (before 1910 only) to demonstrate that the average progressive belonged to an old American middle-class group. He found these men stirred to action by a rising group consciousness produced by a medley of social, psychological, and economic reasons, and directed equally against organized capital and organized labor. An inquiry into the positive mental orienta-

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tion of the California progressive showed that he was a product of the rising social religion, with a firm belief in the essential goodness of man and the desirability of democracy. The paper concluded by noting the paradoxical elements in the progressive creed and their significance for the future of the movement. Mr. Johnson analyzed a half dozen problems that faced historians of recent years: the refusal of heirs to open family manuscripts; the overwhelming mass of material, covering both domestic and wartime events; the tendency of recent diarists and letter writers to keep their records with an eye to history; the interview and the telephone conversation as unique sources; the difficulty of interpreting events in complex times and of excluding bias and point of view. The historian, he thought, should integrate his work with that of other disciplines and broaden his understanding of the whole course of human activities.

A joint session with the Southern Historical Association heard a paper by Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University on "Aristocracy and Politics in Colonial Virginia." Bernard Mayo of the University of Virginia presided. Mr. Sydnor described the balance in Virginia between popular elections and gentry influence, whereby a few hundred families, while filling most of the offices, governed circumspectly and with moderation, and with little tension between classes. The system, he held, explains why Virginia produced so many liberal aristocrats who became leaders at the time of the Revolution. He added that while it worked well in the eighteenth century it would not work well today; but he observed that one of its cardinal doctrines is worth our attention, namely that a democracy is most likely to flourish if it fills its offices, from lowest to highest, with its ablest citizens. Mr. Douglass Adair and Mr. Dumas Malone agreed in general with the speaker; the chairman and Mr. Bernard Drell more critically examined the defects as well as the virtues of the system, believing that not enough attention had been given to class and sectional tensions in Virginia before and after the Revolution.

The vast and comparatively undeveloped subject of international agricultural relationships, particularly as they have affected the United States, was treated at a joint session with the Agricultural History Society. Weymouth T. Jordan of Alabama Polytechnic Institute was the chairman. Four papers were read: "The Early Impact of Japan upon American Agriculture" by Henry F. Graff of Columbia University; "American Interest in World Agriculture, 1861–1865" by Richard O. Cummings of the University of California at Los Angeles; "American Diplomacy and the Repeal of the French Pork Prohibition, 1889–1892" by Richard M. Packard of Lasell Junior College; and "The Marketing of Colombian Coffee" by Robert Carlyle Beyer of the University of Miami. The four papers represented four aspects of the general topic which had been singled out for consideration. Professor Graff revealed that the influence of Japan upon American agriculture so often ascribed only to the years after 1865 was actually well underway before that date, and cited many American adoptions of Japanese farming practices and

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products; Professor Cummings demonstrated that the embryonic Department of Agriculture before and during the period 1861–1865 recognized the integral connection between farm welfare and foreign relations and showed that information on agricultural practices at home and abroad was actively collected and distributed at the time by official agencies of the United States government; Professor Packard discussed French restrictions on importations of inadequately inspected American pork, emphasizing efforts of Whitelaw Reid, American minister in Paris from 1889 to 1892, to lift the embargo; and Professor Beyer presented a historical sketch (particularly since 1918) of the system by which Colombian coffee has been marketed, the sources of credit, specialization, the consignment system in New York, and the success with which Colombian coffee interests have competed with foreign investors. An open discussion followed the papers.

The American Catholic Historical Association, in its joint session with the A.H.A., dealt with the general topic of "The American Churches and the Social Movements of the Late Nineteenth Century." Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale University presided. The Protestant aspect of the topic was presented by C. Howard Hopkins, who discussed "Protestant Theories of Social Reform in the Late Nineteenth Century." The Catholic side of the story was set forth by Aaron I. Abell of the University of Notre Dame, who spoke on "Ideological Aspects of Catholic Social Reform in the Later Nineteenth Century." Merle Curti of Wisconsin and the Reverend Henry J. Browne of Catholic University led the discussion. The meeting was well attended.

The American Society of Church History, in its joint meeting, provided a mixed offering, one paper (noted below) on the Revolution of 1848, and one on "The Transcendental Movement in American Religious Thought," by H. Shelton Smith of Duke University. Winthrop S. Hudson of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School acted as chairman. Mr. Smith re-examined the thought of Theodore Parker. He took issue with recent tendencies to deny or minimize Parker's relationship to New England transcendentalism; and from a restudy of primary materials, and reconsideration of Parker's "primal intuitions" (of God, moral law, and immortality), with due regard for the empirical element in his thinking, concluded that Parker may still be placed "within the movement of New England transcendentalism."

Two meetings may be grouped together as bearing upon the problems of historians in the handling of archival or other original and unpublished matter. The Society of American Archivists held a luncheon conference at which Louis C. Hunter, of the American University, delivered an address on "The Neglect of Historians to Use the National Archives," a form of neglect particularly unfortunate in view of the rich resources therein contained. A large afternoon meeting, entitled "Problems of Collaborative Historical Work," undertook to survey the problems of the historian who deals with materials of archival type which are not in public archives but in the private and confidential possession of per-

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sons or institutions, with which the historian must establish a *modus vivendi* or "collaboration."

At this meeting, presided over by Dean Kayser, the local arrangements chairman, three papers were presented, each on a different type of project. Raymond J. Sontag of the Department of State discussed "The Tripartite Undertaking to Publish German Foreign Office Documents." He explained that these documents, amounting to hundreds of tons, had come into Allied hands by planning and by accident; the Germans had begun to disperse them in 1943, and to forestall capture had issued orders for their systematic destruction, which fortunately were but partially carried out. Consequently, Mr. Sontag reported, the record for the period 1867–1920 seems generally intact; for 1920–1936 there are a few holes, not especially vital; after 1936, there are troublesome gaps. For this last period, although, for example, records of Anglo-German negotiations in 1938–1939 have disappeared, the main outline to 1939 can be reconstructed through the use of copies. The period 1939–1943 is a partly finished picture, sketchily done. After 1943, the material is very fragmentary. Two volumes are scheduled for publication in March, with over 2,000 pages, reaching to Munich. While these and succeeding volumes are under official sponsorship there is full editorial freedom with no official supervision other than that of the editor. McGeorge Bundy, in a paper entitled "The Memoirs of a Public Man—Henry L. Stimson," discussed his collaboration with Mr. Stimson in the writing of that statesman's account of his years of public service. The method was for Mr. Stimson to do as much as possible, including the making of all basic decisions. Topics would then be discussed with Mr. Bundy in the light of the background with which he had already briefed himself. Each segment was checked by Colonel Stimson. The subject, who was one of the authors, had full liberty to tell the truth as he saw it. While military security was in mind, it involved no problems. Mr. Stimson would embarrass no one still in office, violate no obligation of loyalty and deal with friends only with much reticence. While eventually all the papers will be available, that eventuality will hardly lead to the revision which might be expected. The final paper of the session, by Ralph W. Hidy of the Business History Foundation, was a practical approach to "Problems in the Collaborative Writing of Recent Business History." Among the problems he discussed were the need of comprehensive analysis, the availability of records, the methods of finance for historical studies, and the protection of the author, particularly in the form of written assurance that when the history was written it would be published. Commenting on the papers with a disarming lightness of touch, Henry F. Pringle pointed out that the problem under discussion was definitely not that of ghost-writing. He indicated as worthy of emulation, in dealing with our own State Department papers, the objectivity of the Department in the handling of the captured documents in the German Foreign Office and the speed with which this publication was proceeding.

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Two sessions within the general area of American history addressed themselves to questions of teaching. "The Teaching of State History in Colleges and Universities" was the subject of a joint session of the A.H.A. and the American Association for State and Local History. Winfield Scott Downs of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company was in the chair, and three papers were delivered. John A. Munroe, in a talk on "States' Rites," explained the course at the University of Delaware, observed that the lack of suitable text materials increases the responsibility of the lecturer, and felt that the course had produced a beneficial interest in Delaware history both on and off the campus. Whitfield J. Bell, jr., of Dickinson College, discussing "Problems and Promise of a Course in State History," found the most significant question to be whether state history was national history exemplified, or had a meaning of its own. Through it, he thought, students obtained not only a better understanding of national history but an awareness of their own place in the historical stream. Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers, speaking on "Unique Elements in State History," held that attention should fall on matters that have been the primary concern of the state, so that state history might have a distinctive character and the personality of the state be displayed.

A full session was given to a review of "Programs in American Civilization." The Librarian of Congress, Mr. Luther H. Evans, presided. Richard H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania, in a paper on "Nature and Objectives of the American Civilization Program," traced the development of the collegiate course in American civilization from its origin more than a decade ago to the present incorporation of complete undergraduate and graduate sequences in the field into the curricula of sixty-four colleges and universities. Dr. Shryock characterized the development as meeting an obvious need for courses integrating the study of the many facets of American life and cutting across the former limiting bounds of subject and departmental interests. Alice Felt Tyler read a paper on "Curricula and Courses in American Civilization," prepared by Tremaine McDowell, her associate in the establishment of the American civilization program at the University of Minnesota. The paper offered a wealth of statistical and substantive detail in a review of the findings of a recent survey of courses offered in American civilization. In the ensuing discussion the value of the new courses was evident in commendatory remarks from many quarters. Several words of caution were introduced as well. The critical need was emphasized for relating the growth of the United States to the participation of this country in a vigorously international postwar world, and thereby effecting an external orientation for all such courses. It was thought by some that while the new programs were avoiding traditional subject specialization, there was danger that they might produce a new pattern of formalism in the study of the culture of one geographic area to the exclusion of the study of other cultures and particular subject fields.

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IV

There remain to consider the sessions on the Revolution of 1848. These constituted the distinctive feature of the year's program. Forty-one persons, not counting "commentators," read papers. It is probably safe to say that never have so many historians in America given so much thought to the Revolution of 1848 as during the past year, for 1848 has never been a common subject of research in this country, and many of those who spoke on it in Washington were approaching it in this way for the first time. Yet there appears to have been no feeling that the efforts were misspent. It seems to be agreed that the Revolution of 1848 had been historically somewhat neglected, in that a better understanding of what really happened in the mid-nineteenth century agitations might have better prepared us to comprehend the drift of our own times. Possibly the centennial papers will turn some scholars to a lasting and productive interest in 1848; if so, they will have served more than a ritualistic or merely commemorative purpose.

It should be said too that none of the speakers was free to choose his own subject. Only by central planning could so many papers be arranged without an intolerable degree of confusion, duplication or omission. The planning fell to the program committee, *faute de mieux;* and the committee, as best it could, invented topics for sessions and papers, on which it then invited colleagues throughout the country to do the work. The response was gratifying indeed; and thanks are hereby rendered to all who consented to take part under such conditions. As for its central plan, the committee determined to avoid a nation-by-nation approach to the 1848 revolutions, and to attempt a synoptic view along topical lines, the topics being chosen in the light of modern preoccupations, on the principle that history is contemporary thought about the past.

The session of most general scope, and serving as a kind of introduction, was entitled "1848 as a Focal Point in Modern History." Carlton J. H. Hayes being prevented by reasons of health from acting as chairman, Louis R. Gottschalk presided in his stead. Hans Kohn of Smith College addressed a sizable audience on "The Contemporaneity of 1848." In the events of 1848 he saw the beginning of a century dominated by the impact of the two new mass forces, socialism and nationalism, which, transported from Western to Central and Eastern Europe, were there so modified as to emphasize aggressive exclusiveness rather than humanitarianism, and collectivity rather than the individual. The new spirit manifested itself in the mass-supported authoritarianism of Napoleon III, the class war proposed by Marx, the pan-Germanism of the liberals at Frankfurt, and the nationalism of Slavs, Magyars, Rumanians, and Italians. Wherever nationalism and liberalism have conflicted, nationalism has prevailed, with increasing insistence (except in the English-speaking countries) on group independence and power rather than on individual liberty, particularly in the last twenty years. The century before 1848, Mr. Kohn declared, had aspired to a world of democracy and peace, but what began to emerge in 1848 was a world of conflict and

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violence. The year 1848 was thus really a turning point, but not in the direction hoped for by the 1848ers. Thad W. Riker of the University of Texas followed with "Some Reflections on the Quest for Democracy since 1848." Pointing out that this quest had begun long before 1848, Professor Riker indicated that the mid-century upheaval promoted class consciousness among a huge and scattered proletariat. The spread of written constitutions, a greater articulation of public opinion, wider popular education, a more liberal franchise, the growing political importance of labor and modifications of the *laissez-faire* state have since 1848 effected a steady trend toward political and social democracy. In the way of this trend have stood national temperaments, regionalism, class interests, the force of traditions (with emphasis upon the role of the Catholic Church in Europe), and popular apathy, susceptibility, and ignorance. Fascism (and perhaps communism too), Professor Riker concluded, arose in Europe because believers in democracy, taking it too much for granted or being willfully disloyal to it, left a sort of vacuum.

Wide also in its scope was the session on "1848 as a Social Movement," at which J. Salwyn Schapiro presided, and for which three papers were planned. The sudden death of Frances E. Gillespie of Chicago, who had undertaken to prepare a paper on social disturbances in England in the 1840's, left a vacancy in the program, as in the circle of her friends. Henry Roberts of Columbia addressed himself to the question, "How Revolutionary was the Agrarian Movement in Central and Eastern Europe?" He pointed out that the peasant uprising was most important in the Habsburg dominions, where the peasants revolted against surviving feudal dues and services, and actual serfdom in Hungary. Since the uprising threatened the whole social order, under conditions of an agrarian economy, the government hastened to concede the peasant demands; after which the uprising subsided, having no integration with the revolutionary movement in the cities. Donald C. McKay of Harvard raised the question, "How Socialist Were the June Days in France?" He considered the uprising of the Paris workers to be a reaction against the severe depression of 1846–47; they were not Marxist, nor led by prominent French socialists of the day, nor followers of a definite program; but they were socialist in their views on remaking the social order. Their repression doomed the Second Republic, and created a bitter class feeling between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Sherman Kent confirmed these views in leading the discussion.

More definitely on revolutionary socialism was the session called "1848 and the Origins of Marxism: The Communist Manifesto," a symposium at which Herbert Heaton of Minnesota presided. In his own words, "it was inevitable that the 'specter' said to be 'haunting Europe' in 1848 should claim a session, for to ignore it would have been playing *Hamlet* without the ghost." Samuel Bernstein, of *Science and Society,* traced the transition from utopianism to Marxism. He showed that there was nothing revolutionary about manifesto-writing; that countless

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similar calls to arms or utopia had appeared during the preceding decades; and that these contained abundant denunciations of bourgeois society as well as descriptions of class struggles. The important originality of Marx and Engels was their elevation of the class struggle to the dignity of a law of social change and the part they assigned to the proletariat because of their materialistic conception of history. Herbert Marcuse took over at this point with a close analysis of "The New Theory of History in the *Communist Manifesto*," and explained why this theory led, not to the direct transition from capitalism to communism, but to two phases—capitalism to socialism, and then from socialism, with its emphasis on productivity, discipline, and regimentation of labor, to communism, with its promise of a society free from domination, repression, or hard work. His conclusion was that socialist countries are still only in the early stages of the first phase. Melvin M. Knight of California put the *Manifesto* in its historical setting. Potato famines and bursting railroad booms created acute misery in 1846–48. Hence the superb piece of propaganda was born in a time of dire distress. Prosperity almost immediately consigned it to oblivion; but it reappeared whenever disorder, uncertainty, misery, and ignorance returned to plague the economy.

It was perhaps equally inevitable, in 1948, that a session should also deal with "1848 and the Origins of National Totalitarianism." At this session F. L. Nussbaum of Wyoming was in the chair. Ralph H. Bowen of Columbia, under the heading of "Authoritarian Ideas in Germany," selected the views and career of the liberal F. C. Dahlmann for analysis, especially in connection with the Frankfort assembly. It emerged from the paper that the doctrine of Dahlmann and the German liberals differed from the libertarianism of the West. In Dahlmann's writings and in the expressions of his party, which was dominant in the assembly, popular controls and any form of democratic constitutionalism were regarded as something to be avoided. The liberalism of the Germans consisted rather in an exaltation of the state. The liberals were so deeply committed to the cause of authority that they could hardly have failed by their action to assure the triumph of the counter-revolution. Franklin D. Palm of California spoke on "Napoleon III: Architect of an Authoritarian Utopia." He described the integrating function which Napoleon III as candidate, president, and emperor, performed among the diverse and conflicting elements of French society. These apparently incompatible elements were brought together in support of the empire by a skillfully calculated assortment of promises, not wholly unrealized, to meet the desires of conservatives and radicals, financiers, industrialists, and labor. The discussion, led by David C. Pinkney of the University of Missouri and O. H. Wedel of the University of Arizona, was concerned largely with the relation of the imperial program to the developing socialist thought of the time.

Kindred questions occupied another session, "1848: Liberalism and National Unity." Kent Roberts Greenfield of the Department of the Army presided; A. W. Salomone of New York University and Walter L. Dorn of Ohio State read the

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papers, which dealt respectively with Italy and Germany. Both gave the center of the stage to the Liberal crisis in 1848 and independently reached broadly similar conclusions. The development between 1815 and 1848 in the middle class of each nation of a desire for constitutional-parliamentary government and national union was the great new fact in the situation. In both cases the thought of the class that took the initiative in the revolutionary movement contained unresolved contradictions; in each case the critical factor in its failure was found to be its unreadiness to face the danger on the left, its fear of "the populace," in whom the logic of its philosophy and its political and national ambitions required it to seek the power necessary to overcome the forces of reaction. In Italy the rock on which the Liberals split was the power of the papacy, over which they were initially tided by the myth of Pius IX; in Germany it was the power of the princes, particularly of the Prussian monarchy, by whose pledges they let themselves be too easily deceived. Professor Salomone dwelt on the inner contradictions of Italian Liberal thought, reconsidering this and the behavior of the Italian Liberals during the revolution in the light of recent studies of the Risorgimento. Professor Dorn emphasized a point implicit in Professor Salomone's review, namely, that the anxieties of the Liberals over a social democratic revolution were greatly exaggerated. He concluded that if the drive of the German Liberals for political power had been determined and bold, their program would have succeeded, in spite of the danger of foreign war, thus challenging the thesis that success would have produced an attack by Russia, France, and Great Britain. The discussion of Professor Salomone's paper was led by Dr. George T. Romani of Northwestern University; that of Professor Dorn's by Dr. Dietrich Gerhard of Washington University, St. Louis.

Three sessions touched on the interplay between religion and the socio-political movements of 1848. One of the two papers presented at the joint session with the American Society of Church History was entitled "The Church and the Revolution of 1848." Its author was James Hastings Nichols of the Federated Theological Schools, the University of Chicago. In 1848, said Mr. Nichols, liberalism, nationalism, communism, and absolutism all had to come to terms with the Christian faith as the deepest and most universal sanction of political ethics in the West. The corruption of Continental liberalism and socialism to class and national imperialisms at that crisis meant the repudiation of Christian elements of universalism and personal responsibility and marked an epoch in the disintegration of Christendom. Calvinist societies, especially in the English-speaking world, had already largely Christianized liberalism and neither needed a revolution nor experienced its consequent reaction. Lutheranism, on the whole, fell into absolutism and social reaction, losing the liberals and labor to dogmatic atheism. In dominantly Roman Catholic countries the Lutheran experience was paralleled, but in several countries where Roman Catholics were in a minority, 1848 saw the first significant emergence of ultramontane liberalism. Much subsequent history, he concluded,

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has been fundamentally affected by the diverse adjustments of the ideologies of 1848 to Christianity in various areas.

"The Origins of Christian Socialism" was further explored by Gordon Griffiths of the University of California at a session on "1848 and the Catholic Church." Geoffrey Bruun presided. Mr. Griffiths traced modern Christian Democracy as a political force to the papal encyclicals of the 1890's and the earlier social Catholicism of the 1830's and 1840's. Summarizing the ideas of Mazzini, Minghetti, and Ventura for Italy, and of Saint-Simon, Lamennais, and Ozanam for France, Mr. Griffiths observed that the 1848 revolution gave some French exponents of Christian Socialism (Melun, Lacordaire, Buchez) a chance to urge their program, which however was vitiated by the June Days and advent of Louis Napoleon, most Christian socialist leaders rallying to the Party of Order by 1849. The movement, he said, was destroyed by the coup d'état of 1851, and for this reason has received inadequate attention. George A. Carbone of the University of Mississippi, as discussion leader, added further comments on Italy. Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham read the concluding paper on "The Whigs and the Liberal Pope." He showed how the Whig cabinet narrowly missed the opportunity to strengthen Pius IX in his liberal moves in 1847. Parliament did pass an emasculated act to establish diplomatic representation at Rome, but it came too late; revolutionary republicanism and its suppression by military force changed British popular sentiment, making diplomatic relations with the restored papal government difficult. Mr. Hoffman emphasized, however, how British and papal diplomats have tended to work for the same ends in disturbed times—in 1793, 1815, 1846–48, and from 1914 to 1920. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College, as a commentator of great charm and insight, made a number of emendations which Mr. Hoffman willingly accepted.

A significant session was devoted also to "1848 and the Jews." With Jacob R. Marcus of Hebrew Union College in the chair, papers were read by Bertram W. Korn of Hebrew Union and by Salo Baron of Columbia. Mr. Korn talked on "The Jewish Forty-eighters in America," of whom he gave data on twenty-six. He concluded that, among Jews at least, the idea of the forty-eighters as anti-religious "requires some revision," since four of the twenty-six were rabbis. He concluded also that the twenty-six made their influence felt not as a Jewish group but as individuals; they included Abraham Jacobi, "the father of pediatrics in America"; Julius Bein, an outstanding lithographer and president for thirty-five years of the B'nai B'rith; August Bondi, who fought with John Brown in the Kansas border warfare; and General Fred Knefler, the highest ranking Jewish officer in the Civil War. Professor Baron followed with a paper on the "Impact of 1848 on Jewish Emancipation." Contrasting 1848 with 1789, he noted that in 1848 the Jewish masses were themselves actively interested, participating for the first time as citizens of Europe; and that where the 1789 revolution had been mainly antireligious, in that of 1848 religionists and the civically disabled synthe-

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sized their hopes, so that religion survived the ordeal of emancipation. He found a straight line from the nationality quarrels of 1848 to the concept of national minority rights in the 1919 Versailles Treaty, and held that by the time of World War II the concept of minority rights for Jews was scrapped and replaced by the acceptance of the Jewish State, which thus serves as a supplementary form of emancipation. Discussion was led by Oscar Handlin of Harvard and Robert F. Byrnes of Rutgers, the latter pointing out that the anti-Jewish reaction to the 1848 emancipation was a strong anti-Semitic movement, which ultimately found its crassest expression in the genocide of the twentieth century.

One session was occupied with "1848 and the Arts," in view of the strong mutual influences between social events and imaginative and creative work. The chairman was Gilbert Chinard of Princeton; the speakers were W. P. Friederich, professor of comparative literature at the University of North Carolina, and G. Haydn Huntley, professor of art at Northwestern; Jacques Barzun of Columbia acted as commentator. Mr. Friederich, speaking from encyclopedic knowledge on "The Literature of 'Young Europe,'" sketched the currents of ideas among creative writers in many languages. Mr. Huntley, who entitled his paper "The Reform Movement in Art," dealt mainly with painting; he spoke especially of Gustave Courbet and his political ideas. Through a series of misunderstandings Mr. Huntley was unable to show the slides which his paper had been planned to go with. The two papers were greatly appreciated by those who heard them.

A number of sessions offered a regional if not national emphasis. Eastern Europe received considerable attention, with two papers on Russia, one on Pan-Slavism, one on the historico-nationalist revival in eastern Europe, and a whole session on the Austrian Empire, in addition to Mr. Roberts' paper mentioned above. The United States came into the 1848 series with two full sessions and with halves of two others, of which one was Mr. Korn's paper just noted. There was a paper on Great Britain, which with Mr. Hoffman's helped to fill the gap left in the British picture by the death of Miss Gillespie. The joint session of the Economic History Association provided two papers on Italy, which filled out the treatment of Italy by Messrs. Griffiths, Hoffman, and Salomone.

The two papers on Italy, at the economic history meeting, were by Howard M. Smyth of the Department of the Army and by Peter Warren of Washington, D. C. (The latter was unfortunately not included in the printed program.) Frederic C. Lane of Johns Hopkins presided. Mr. Smyth spoke on "Piedmont and Prussia: The Influence of the Campaigns of 1848–49 on the Constitutional Development of Italy." He argued that Italian parliamentary development should not be ascribed to Cavour but to earlier events in Piedmont in 1848. The *statuto* of 1848, he declared, was meant to be as conservative as the Prussian constitution of 1850; it provided for no responsibility of cabinet to parliament; but the government's mistakes and failures in the war with Austria in 1848–49 (in contrast to Prussia in 1866) allowed theories of parliamentary government to be pro-

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claimed on which Cavour was able to build. Mr. Warren, discussing "The Guelf Program of Economic Reform," set forth the program best represented by Pius IX in the Papal States, but found also in Tuscany and Naples. It was, he said, a program suited to a country of poor resources, with slight chance of capital formation, and desiring little assistance from foreign capital. It stood in contrast to the Piedmontese program, inspired by British ideas of free trade, education and material progress. It looked to land reclamation and very limited mechanization. It lasted thirteen years, being ended in 1861 by the impatience of the people. The path then followed by the united Italian kingdom, according to Mr. Warren, led to uneconomic industrialization, to imperialism, and to complete dependence on others.

More should perhaps have been said of the Italians in the session on "1848 and the Austrian Empire," a kind of symposium presenting the position of the several nationalities under Habsburg rule. Time and space allowed only the Germans, Magyars, Poles, Czechs, and South Slavs to be included. The chairman, Hajo Holborn of Yale, acted as leader and summarizer. He observed that the failure of reforms in the Danube countries during the last century was the result not merely of the national movements in the area but of the decline of Western solidarity as well. Robert A. Kann of Rutgers treated the attitude of the Austrian Germans during the revolution, and absolved them from responsibility for its failure. Mr. Aladar Szegedy-Maszák, former Hungarian minister to the United States, sketched the course of the Hungarian revolution of 1848–1849 and its defeat by Austrian and Russian armies. Edmund Silberner of Princeton characterized the attempts of the Austrian Poles to bring about the restoration of an independent Poland and included a brief statement on the nascent Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia. George Waskovich of Hunter College described the aims of the Czech revolution, which, he found, were for the preservation of the Habsburg Empire against Pan-Germanism and the separatism of the Magyars. John C. Adams of Dartmouth analyzed the absence of revolutionary movements in the South Slav regions. The movements of the Croats and Hungarian Serbs, which he singled out, were loyalist and hostile to the Hungarian revolution which had abrogated the historic rights of these provinces. In the discussion Professor Otakar Odlozilik, formerly of the Charles University, stressed the necessity for a closer study of the intellectual attitudes of the growing middle classes in order to gain an understanding of the common character of nationalism. Oscar Halecki stated among other points his observation that even nowadays some solid research was being produced behind the Iron Curtain.

Eastern European affairs received a broad portrayal from S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado, who delivered the address at the luncheon of the Modern European History Section of the Association. He entitled his remarks "Pan-Slavism and the Slavs, 1848–1948," and traced the course of Pan-Slavism since before the first Slav congress, held at Prague in 1848. He explained the

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changes which Pan-Slavism had gone through, observing how at the outset it had been nonpolitical, romantic, and cultural; how in 1848, when it became political, it was primarily Austroslav—anti-German and anti-Magyar—but by no means pro-Russian; and how after 1848, taken up by certain Russians, it emerged as a Pan-Russism, to which most non-Russian Slavs remained distinctly cool. He concluded, with intimations for the present and future, that the Slavic peoples had repeatedly, at critical moments, refused to let any all-embracing Pan-Slavism swallow up their individual identity in that of Russia.

Russia joined with the United States as subject for a session under the somewhat enigmatic title of "1848 and the Sense of Estrangement from Europe." By estrangement was meant the feeling in each country, after the events of 1848 in Europe, that it had a special character or destiny of its own. Frederick Barghoorn of Yale spoke on "1848 and the Idea of a Special Path of Development for Russia." Discussing Herzen and Chernyshevski in particular, he showed how Russian revolutionaries, after the failure of the European movements of 1848, concluded that the West was played out, its liberalism a cruel fraud perpetrated on the workers, its socialism timid and stupid; and that the true future of revolution and of socialism lay in Russia. Brainerd Dyer of the University of California at Los Angeles examined "The Effect of the Failure of the European Revolutions of 1848 upon Isolationism in the United States." He observed that despite popular enthusiasm many statesmen—Clay, Sumner, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan—opposed any abandonment of America's policy of nonintervention. But others, such as Douglas and perhaps Seward, thought it unwise to trumpet abroad our intention not to intervene when a more reserved attitude might help the cause of the liberals. Mr. Dyer concluded that the course of the 1848 movement had no significant effect upon isolation sentiment in America.

Russia also entered the program in company with Great Britain, under the rubric of "1848: East and West." Preston Slosson of the University of Michigan presided. Philip E. Mosely of Columbia, in a paper on "The Influence of Tsarist Russia on the Revolutions of 1848," traced the attitude of Nicholas I. The tsar, he said, had planned his role in a new era of revolutions on the assumption of a renewed outsweep of revolutionary expansionism from France. When the Second Republic proved unwarlike, his main aim was to keep Germany disunited. To this end, to support the Habsburgs, he intervened to put down the Hungarian Republic. Finding it unnecessary to lead an antirevolutionary crusade, he concentrated on upholding the balance of power in Central Europe. Goldwin Smith of Wayne University, speaking on "The British Attitude toward the Revolutions of 1848," portrayed the sympathetic but sometimes aloof and condescending British view of the Continental disturbances. Events in France especially seemed to fit the British stereotypes of the political fickleness of Europeans and the superiority of English institutions; and sympathy was in any case abated by the felt needs for a balance of power and for Austria as a barrier to Russian aggression.

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Cyril E. Black of Princeton, in the discussion, showed how Russia and Britain, despite ideological differences, both put first the need of peace, stability, and self-preservation in the confusion of 1848; and Jesse Clarkson of Brooklyn College pointed out how they co-operated in practice despite a difference of objectives which led to conflict soon after. The discussion fell on further questions on Russo-German relations, and on the effect of Chartism upon British foreign policy.

The United States was appropriately represented by a session on "Some Forty-eighters in America," presided over by Dean T. C. Blegen of Minnesota. The meeting was a kind of symposium on those of the forty-eighters who had the most advanced social views. Dean Carl Wittke of Western Reserve University led off with a paper on the American career of Wilhelm Weitling, tracing his activity as a radical organizer and journalist and promoter of "Communia" in Iowa. Arthur Bestor of the University of Illinois, to whom we are indebted for the useful word "communitarian," presented Victor Considérant's travels and activities in the United States. Alice Felt Tyler of Minnesota gave an engaging paper on William Pfaender and the founding of New Ulm in that state, and Bayrd Still of New York University dealt with Joseph Weydemeyer, the first and aboriginal American Marxist. Dean Wittke then drew the strands together. Mention has been made of Mr. Korn's paper on the Jewish forty-eighters, read at another session.

American attitudes toward the Revolution of 1848 in Europe were skillfully analyzed at a session called "1848: North and South in the United States." Under the chairmanship of Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky, contrasting papers were read by Jeter A. Isely of Princeton and Charles M. Wiltse of Washington, D. C. Mr. Isely spoke on Horace Greeley, Mr. Wiltse on John C. Calhoun; the chairman wisely observed that Calhoun represented only an extreme segment of Southern thought, while Greeley was unrepresentative of the Northern majority. Mr. Isely presented Greeley as a socialist who wished to eliminate land monopoly and guarantee by state power the right to work. Revolutions abroad afforded him the opportunity to propagandize his radical convictions, but when reaction occurred he began to stress the self-determination of peoples, censuring British free trade as an ally of wage slavery and condemning Russia as the bulwark of absolutism. Calhoun, Mr. Wiltse pointed out, judged the European revolutions in terms of his conservative political philosophy which rejected the equality of men. Opposing a proletarian revolution which would obliterate class distinctions, and believing that stable government must rest not on an egalitarian base but on some form of federalism, he saw hope for Germany but none for France. The papers were discussed by John Hope Franklin of Howard University and Charles S. Sydnor of Duke. Mr. Franklin observed that Greeley's attitude toward the 1848 revolutions should be evaluated in the light of his interests as an alert newspaperman and practical politician, who did not let his theoretical radicalism drive him from the conservative Whigs into the Free Soil party. Professor Sydnor re-

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garded the conflicting views of Greeley and Calhoun as a chapter in the endless struggle between conservatives and liberals, noting that they interpreted the same set of events in Europe from the standpoint of clashing philosophies, "unswayed, apparently, by economic or other considerations."

Two sessions (and the last of the forty-five here recounted) dealt with history as such. One explored historical works written before the Revolution of 1848, in their connection with that event; the other took up histories written after the Revolution of 1848, and purporting to explain it. One, that is to say, was on history as a form of thought preparing the frame of mind of 1848. The other treated the historiography of the revolution.

The former, "1848 and Historical Consciousness," was presided over by Friedrich Engel-Janosi of the Catholic University of America. There were three papers. Dorothy L. Thompson of Stanford University spoke on "History and the Birth of Nationalism in Eastern Europe." She concentrated on Czech and Slovak historical work, showing how the trends flowing from German romanticism contributed to the Slav awakening. She described the attempts of Czech scholars to rebuild their national language, literature, and identity (not excluding certain pious frauds in the form of fabricated "early" documents), and concluded with a survey of the writings of Frantisek Palacky. Theodore H. von Laue, of the University of Pennsylvania, under the general theme of "*Historismus* and Politics in Germany," analyzed the thought of Ranke, whose reputation for objectivity he subjected to reappraisal. He considered that Ranke's tendency to accept human affairs "as they come," a kind of mistakenly scientific approach, diminished his power of judgment and led to a "corruption of timeless spiritual values by ephemeral political aims." Leo Gershoy of New York University discussed "The Histories of the Great French Revolution and the French Revolution of 1848." He concluded that the famous works of Lamartine, Blanc, and Michelet had no specific influence in precipitating revolution in 1848, and that none of the authors, for all their exalting the great Revolution, wished to see its more drastic scenes staged again, least of all with themselves as participants. He suggested, however, that memories of the great *épopée* might be mildly upsetting in preventing the French from feeling quite satisfied with any ensuing regime. The chairman concluded with comments on Italy, observing that in Italy the Middle Ages took the place of the great Revolution in France as a remembered time of liberty and independence.

The session on "The Historiography of 1848" came on the final afternoon. It was, in a sense, the close of the centennial sessions, though it was of course not possible for the speakers, nor expected of them, to summarize the papers delivered during the preceding days. The session was presided over by Lawrence D. Steefel of the University of Minnesota, and attended by an overflow audience in which, since the subject was if anything a little technical, many connoisseurs of 1848 were to be observed. The first paper was read by Leonard Krieger of Yale, who

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gave an acute analysis of "Marx and Engels as Historians of 1848." In studying the revolution in France, Mr. Krieger said, Marx was confronted with a situation in which economic development and social grouping were complicated by the continuing role of political traditions and institutions. To comprehend both sets of factors he accepted two levels of historical reality and utilized two corresponding methods: the level of actuality, which included the working of political institutions and the specific course of social events, and could be grasped by the usual empirical methods of research; and the level of normative reality, which was given by the theory of the class struggle, and could be ascertained by means of the dialectic philosophy. In the *Class Struggles in France,* the levels of empirical and absolute reality appear on a fairly equal footing; in the *Eighteenth Brumaire,* historical events are subordinated to the process of history as closed and determined. Engels, in the *Revolution and Counter-revolution,* emphasized the role of the Frankfort assembly, "the parliament of an imaginary country," and by omitting local political problems treated the German revolution as a unified process. It was in the treatment of revolutionary process, Mr. Krieger thought, that Marx and Engels were most successful as historians. But they created new instruments by which impersonal economic structure and anonymous masses were brought into the main stream of history, and by which the contemporary world was made a proper subject for historical treatment.

Hans Rothfels of the University of Chicago raised the large question, "Is There a Revisionist Movement in the Historiography of 1848?" and answered it with qualified negative. Beyond a widening of perspective in social terms stimulated by the work of Marx and Engels, he found the basic reinterpretation of 1848 to be crystallizing around or turning against the Marxian thesis. He detected three revisionist trends of sound historiographic significance. One has been expressed especially in small-scale French writings, favorable to the extension of the social revolution. Historiographically speaking, this may be described as a shift from the determinist to the activist Marxian interpretation. A second trend, which can be observed in commemorative articles, stresses the liberal traditions of 1848 as a safeguard against any sort of authoritarianism. A third trend which may be called revisionist goes farther in rejecting the glorification of violence, dialectic or physical, which is implicit in the Marxian theory. It questions the notion that revolutions, especially those in distant countries, are progressive per se. Mr. Rothfels intimated his own doubts on much that is said of 1848, and gave the impression that there ought to be more revisionism than there has been. Discussion was led by R. John Rath of the University of Colorado and Kurt Schwerin of Northwestern, but was as usual cut short by time.

The foregoing account, dry and bare as it is, does little justice to the meetings in Washington as they were experienced by those present, or to the efforts of some two hundred persons which made the program a living reality. The writer

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begs the indulgence of those whose statements he may have inaccurately reported. It is a consolation for the shortcomings of such a summary to reflect that many who presented papers are taking steps to have them published. The scholarly journals for the next year or two will doubtless bear the impression of the late meetings. For the papers on 1848, plans are going forward to publish them in a book, under the editorship of Mr. Steefel; but it will be understood that not all the forty-one papers can be included in any volume of practicable size. A book on 1848, if finally published, and though selective in content, will stand as a record of the centennial, and as a better one than this article can hope to be.

Princeton University R. R. PALMER

The Year's Business, 1948

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1948[1]

In my report for 1946 I reported a membership of 4,227 and added, "A membership of 5,000 is not an unreasonable goal to attain in the next few years." Today, two years later, I am happy to report that a hope so tentatively expressed is more than realized by a membership on December 1 of 5,252. This is the result of a gain of nearly 500 members this year. This increase is due in part to what the central office did but more largely to the efforts and the co-operation of members of the Association in bringing the *Review* and Association to the attention of their colleagues and their graduate students. This should be a continuing effort and I am asking members, whether in academic work or out of it, to keep up the good work. It should be extended to include the nonprofessional. It is my experience that too many citizens think they have to be practicing historians engaged in research or teaching history to be eligible for membership. That is not at all the case. Our charter, granted by Congress in 1889, makes it clear that membership in the Association is open to every man or woman who is interested in American history or the study of history in America. The only gloss on that statement is a five-dollar bill per year or one hundred dollars for life membership. This is little enough for the return given and has been maintained in the face of rising prices while some of our sister societies have increased their membership fee by from one fourth to one third and their life membership even more. I may add that, as things now stand in the matter of prices and longevity tables for academic members, our life membership fee is a bargain-counter proposition that is due for a mark-up some day. As matters stand now, we do a little better than break even on the life memberships, which, however, give us the advantage of a stable core of

[1] Read at the business meeting of the Association, December 29, 1948.

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members, less office work, and modest additions to our free permanent funds, where we are weak.

Let me return a moment to the question of the possibilities of membership among the history-minded public. We have, and always have had, hundreds of these intelligent and interested citizens among our members. They are one of the largest groups in our present membership. Their numbers are capable of indefinite increase, and such members should be recruited if we are not to hand them and their interest in history to exploitation for less worthy ventures put forth in the name of history. Every one of you knows in his community a handful or a score of such intelligent citizens who have given expression or proof of their interest in history. If you will jot down and send in their names and addresses, an invitation to join will go to them in the name of the Council. Do this if you do nothing else for the Association this year. Your name will not be used although it would be helpful if you permitted it.

As in the past, the circulation and the finances of the *Review* parallel the growth in membership. I explained last year the financial arrangements with the Macmillan Company which bring to the Association a considerable part of its free income. Those arrangements involve an annual subsidy and a division of profit. The latter will clearly not keep pace with the increase in membership because the publishers have been warned that the increased cost of paper would be reflected in the new contract with the printers. The volume for October, 1947, to July, 1948—Volume LIII—contains 977 pages with the index, as against 884 pages in Volume LII. The considerable increase in pagination was due less to the articles than to the increased number of book reviews, 185 as against 156 in the preceding year and the publication in each issue of a document in order to clear up the backlog of this type of material. The Board of Editors has voted to discontinue the publication of documents after the present accepted material is published. The last appears in the January issue, 1949. We have added a new rubric, "Books Received." The figures for articles received, accepted, and returned are practically identical with those of the preceding year, and their distribution by areas or periods is approximately the same.

I am particularly pleased with the increase in the number of book reviews, partly because they and the list of "Books Received" indicate an increase in the publication of books in the historical field. Not all of the increase is pure gain, and it is the obligation of the *Review* to discriminate. It should do it as a guide for its professional readers and, even more, for the increasing number of non-professional readers. It is with this in mind that I sometimes review books which might just be listed if it were not for the fact that they are often those which will be ballyhooed as definitive to an unsuspecting public. It is the responsibility of the *American Historical Review* to throw the fear of Clio into the hearts of irresponsible authors and publishers. If, as a result, there are fewer carelessly written history books, we can hope there will be more carefully written ones. Sound history

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is not a matter wholly of inspiration but largely of perspiration and, I may add, not wholly that. Behind every honest book is an honest man or woman, even though he may write lamentably lefthanded English. A fair reviewer should take notice of both if they are in conjunction, or perhaps it is more exact to say, in opposition, when the results are measured. Occasionally and perhaps increasingly, the *Review* takes notice of two types of books. The first is the highly specialized monograph or book that touches a small and equally specialized group of users. I feel that a learned journal with an international circulation has an obligation to both specialized writer and specialized reader. The other type is represented by books in adjacent fields, fields into which the historian may well expand his interest and his knowledge. History is at the center but does not set the bounds of what is being called, I hope without chauvinism, American civilization. It has become both an undergraduate and graduate major in colleges and universities. It has a sounder rationale, I hope, than the Americanization courses that flourished and faded after the First World War. In any case let us peek over the sagging fences that once were real barriers between history and the social sciences and humanities, most of which, as disciplines, are the children, legitimate or illegitimate, of history. Without spreading itself too thin, this Association, and the *Review* as its organ, must act on the thesis that within reason nothing is alien to a group that tries to understand mankind and his past.

In turning to a summary of the committee reports I cannot refrain from expressing for the Association to the members of these committees a word of deep appreciation. As I have looked at the reports, I have realized in how many cases there was behind them a great amount of conscientious labor and time well applied in forwarding the interests of the Association and the administration of the prizes and activities that constitute some of its major functions.

Professor Bernadotte Schmitt, reporting in the absence of Dr. Waldo Leland for the Committee on Honorary Members, announces that the committee this year has no additional names to recommend. The general policy of the committee approved by the Council is to hold this very selective list to about fifteen. At the beginning of last year there were sixteen and this year we have suffered a loss by death of two honorary members—Professor A. F. Pollard of England, and Professor George M. Wrong of Canada.

The report of the Committee on the James Hazen Hyde Prize with Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes as chairman will be presented at the annual dinner when the winner of this prize of $1,000 is announced.

A similar statement will cover the report of the Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, inasmuch as the committee has come to a unanimous decision in making an award.

For want of competition, the Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize, with Professor Sherman Kent as chairman, makes no award this year.

The John H. Dunning Prize will be announced at the dinner in accordance

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with the report of the committee, headed by Professor Dan E. Clark of the University of Oregon.

The Committee on the Watumull Prize circularized some 400 American publishers asking them to submit any books in the field of Indian history published by them during the three-year period, 1945–1947, inclusive. The result was a considerable garner of books and pamphlets, but the committee, which administers one of our richest prizes, felt that no book or manuscript quite met the standards that ought to be maintained and, therefore, recommends that no award be made. The committee, with the approval of the donors of the prize, recommends that the period to be covered by the award should be reduced from three years to two years.

The award of the Beveridge Memorial Fellowship will be announced at the annual dinner. The competition has been satisfactory this year. Eleven manuscripts were submitted, somewhat less than in previous years, but the quality was better. The committee established a procedure in handling accepted manuscripts. This is to have the manuscript or manuscripts reviewed and revised in co-operation with the author by a specialist in the field. It will be recalled that the committee reserves the right to publish not only the winning manuscript but others that are considered important contributions. This last year the committee published the volume by Professor Harrington entitled, *Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks*. It has received excellent reviews. This year it will publish two of those submitted. Two manuscripts—that by Professor Hanke, the winner in 1947, and that by Professor Bestor, the winner in 1946—are either in the printer's hands or nearly ready for publication. The costs of publication have, of course, put limitations on the committee's program. The finances of this endowed committee are in a sound position and should remain so through the five-year period in the present experimental program of fellowships. This runs to 1950 when the committee and the Council will review the matter with a view to extension or revision. Taking account of the increased costs, the committee has recommended that the fellowship be increased from $1,000 to $1,500.

The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund has published during the year, through the Cornell University Press, Miss Hastings' excellent volume on *The Court of Common Pleas in Fifteenth Century England*. It has accepted for future publication the manuscript by Michael Kraus entitled, "Cultural Relations between Europe and America in the Eighteenth Century." The sale of previous publications continues, to the profit of the fund, although three of the volumes are now out of print. The balance on hand is $11,347.63. This is a slight gain over last year.

Professor Richard B. Morris, the chairman, reports that the Littleton-Griswold Fund has various projects in various stages of production. The manuscript of the volume on the "Connecticut Court of Assistants Records," edited by Professor Oscar Zeichner, is scheduled for completion in 1949. The work of the committee

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has received additional support during the last year from Mrs. Griswold, Duke University, and the Rackham Research Fund of the University of Michigan. Its reserve fund has declined from $13,606.05 to a total on August 31 of $7,131.77. Your secretary has had occasion this year to give some attention to the content and editorship of these volumes. They clearly reach a limited audience but, if one who is not a specialist in this field may pass judgment, they represent in their notes and introductions high scholarship and in their substance a permanent contribution to the beginnings of the administration of justice on the North American continent.

Two other committees, the Committee on Government Publications and the Committee on Radio, have no activities to report this year. The Committee on Government Publications has called an informal conference during this session to bring together historians interested in the series on "Foreign Relations" and "Territorial Papers" and representatives of the State Department. The Committee on Radio has suspended its work but is seeking hopefully for funds to carry on its program. It is appropriate to express a word of appreciation and thanks to the broadcaster, Mr. Cesar Saerchinger, and to the director, Mrs. Evelyn Plummer Read, for their tireless and effective efforts in connection with the broadcasts. To them is entirely due the success of the program and its length of tenure as a sustaining program on the NBC network.

The Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report is able to report that the *Writings on American History* for 1934–40 has reached the point where the index to the volume is now in galley proof and the volume itself should appear early in 1949. That part of the *Report* for 1947 which covers in a small volume the Proceedings and current business of the year should be out in January. The three volumes of documents covering the Spanish occupation of Louisiana edited by Professor Kinnaird of California should also appear in the first half of 1949. These volumes together with overruns on the cost of volumes being manufactured will presumably absorb most, if not all, of the current appropriation. Professor Ragatz, the chairman, has had a conference with Mr. Matteson who is doing the tremendous job of preparing the cumulative index of all past volumes of the *Writings*. He reports that Mr. Matteson is making excellent progress on his laborious task. It will all be done in the fiscal year 1949–50. If any balance on the Smithsonian funds for 1948–49 is available, we shall attempt to cover it by requisition involving part of the manuscript of Mr. Matteson. I hope that the Association realizes what a great and monumental work Mr. Matteson is doing. It is now his sole activity. When done, it will make conveniently available all references to the many volumes of the *Writings*. Both American and foreign students will welcome it and use it for years to come. The expenses of its publication presumably in two volumes and on some quality of rag paper to insure durability will absorb all the appropriations received through the Smithsonian to at least the fiscal year 1950–51. It is the unanimous opinion of the committee that the *Writ-*

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ings should be continued and be a first charge on the funds of the Association received from the government. The problem is to secure the support and personnel for the preparation of the manuscript of future volumes. Miss Grace Griffin of the Library of Congress, who has so faithfully and competently prepared the index through the past two decades, has indicated that she can no longer carry the burden which has involved overtime work after her regular service in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Plans are now under consideration in conference with the Library of Congress which it is hoped will provide some means of assuring the continuance of what is probably the most extensive bibliographical enterprise in America, if not in the world.

The Committee on Business Records has pooled its interests with similar committees of the Social Science Research Council and the American Economic History Society to form under the aegis of the Social Science Research Council a nonprofit corporation chartered by the State of New York to be known as the National Records Management Council. Its purpose is to guide business firms to save historically important records, to advise them in disposing of nonessential material, to open these records to research, and to induce universities to set up courses in records management. It is now seeking a subvention from a foundation to initiate its activities and cherishes the hope that, after a trial period in furnishing and selling its services to corporations, it will become self-supporting. The interim board is composed of Arthur H. Cole, Thomas C. Cochran, Hugh M. Flick, Roy A. Foulke, Wayne C. Grover, and Emmett J. Leahy.

The Committee on Documentary Reproduction has followed closely the development of agreements between the State Department and countries eligible under the Fulbright law. The qualifying of microcopying programs under the law has not yet been fully clarified. The committee has been advised to submit specific programs or projects for each country, and its subcommittees are proceeding to shape programs accordingly. It has a full complement of committees for all possible countries. Eight countries have now signed the necessary agreements and more will follow shortly. A special project has been set up for Austria where a treaty may be long delayed and support for it is being sought outside government sources. The April issue of the *Review* will contain a statement supplied by the State Department about fellowships and exchanges under the Fulbright law. (See p. 774, below.)

In quite another field the Association must assume new responsibilities and added expenditures. This is in the field represented by the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Our predecessors were active in forming, and we have as members participated in, the International Congresses sponsored by the committee. As an Association we have paid nominal fees and contributed in the preparation of an annual international bibliography set up to replace the much more extensive German publication that ceased with the First World War. That we have played a larger role than this in reality is due to the fact that Dr. Jameson

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was active in the beginnings of the committee and that his associate in the Historical Division of the Carnegie Institution and the former secretary of this Association, Dr. Waldo G. Leland, became director of the American Council of Learned Societies and later president of the International Union of Academies and president as well of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. His long residence abroad, wide acquaintance with European scholars, and singular abilities as leader and moderator fitted him eminently for these multiple responsibilities. The happy circumstance that his duties in matters other than the International Committee took him abroad enabled him to attend meetings of the committee as one of our two representatives, with slight if any expense to the Association. To the regret of all the organizations mentioned and of this Association, his retirement from the directorship of the American Council of Learned Societies has led him to withdraw from the presidency of the two international organizations. It is with the revived Committee of Historical Sciences and its future program and the forthcoming Historical Congress in 1950 that we are concerned. The full committee or its bureau (executive committee) have held three meetings this past year at which we have been represented with minimum expense by members then in Europe, namely, Professor A. L. Burt of Minnesota, Professor Donald McKay of Harvard, and Professor Roy Nichols of Pennsylvania. Professor McKay and Professor Bemis of Yale are our regularly chosen representatives. In the future we must carry in the budget items that will assure the presence of one or the other or a duly constituted substitute at meetings of the committee. Continuity in attendance and fluency in one foreign language, preferably French, are advantages possessed by most other delegates and should be shared by ours. A summary of the reports by our three delegates of the several meetings attended shows the reorganization of the committee, dormant in the war period, a new set of officers with a young French scholar as executive secretary, Professor Morazé, whom some of you met when he was in this country. Offices have been opened in Paris. Contacts have been made with UNESCO, which has given a grant of $5,000 for the 1947 issue of the *Bibliography* which is being edited by M. Pierre Caron, one of our honorary members. Each country must furnish its own section. In earlier years that nominal expense for the United States was shared with the American Council of Learned Societies. Their support has now been withdrawn. The unexpected obligation in editorship and expense was not before me or the Council at an early enough date to meet the deadline of October 15. The Council will need to provide the funds and the executive office to find the scholars to do our part. Whether the *Bibliography* serves a large enough clientele to justify its annual appearance is a moot question. In any case the UNESCO grant establishes the 1947 volume as an obligation and we should do our part. In addition our delegates report that tentative plans have been adopted for the next Congress and that bids are being considered for printing the continuation of the roster of diplomatic representatives in an edition of 500

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copies. Five international governmental organizations, including the Committee of Historical Sciences, have agreed to federate under UNESCO in an International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies similar to the International Council of Scientific Unions. A draft constitution has been drawn up with the assistance of UNESCO officials and approved. I have met a call from the Paris office for a brief report on historical activity in this country during the war period. Through the *Review* you will be kept informed of further activities of the International Committee. Its next meeting will be in London, June 24 and 25. Some of you may be drafted by it at a reasonable date to prepare papers for the Congress in 1950.

And now briefly about two other major national scholarly organizations in which we hold membership and share responsibility. Our two delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies report through Professor Strayer that the Council has been adjusting itself during the last year to the working of its new constitution. For consideration of the Council's major fields of interest and what it is doing and what is to be done, the Council members are trying the experiment of panel discussions among themselves and with the staff. One panel should throw light on the question raised earlier of the relation of existing cultural organizations to UNESCO. In the matter of finances the A.C.L.S. is assured for three years of funds for the central administration and for fellowships. It is encouraging to note that other foundations and possible sources of funds are showing interest in addition to the Rockefeller and the Carnegie groups. The Council had again the task this year of finding a new director. The committee of five, of which Professor Strayer and Dean de Kiewiet were members, came up with the happy and, as some would say the inevitable, choice of a historian, Professor Charles Odegaard of the University of Illinois. He took up his new duties on September 1.

Professor Shepard Clough reports for our delegation to the Social Science Research Council that this Council also had to find a new director, as Donald Young had accepted the presidency of the Russell Sage Foundation. His successor is Professor Pendleton Herring, who comes from Harvard by way of a brief service with the Carnegie Corporation. The Washington office at 126 Jackson Place is directed by Elbridge Sibley. He is in charge of all applications for fellowships and grants-in-aid. Five committees touch the interests of historians: The Committee on Council Leadership, the Committee on War Studies, the Committee on Economic History, the Committee on a Source Book of Historical Statistics, and the Committee on Historiography. The latter is composed of Ralph E. Turner, Yale; Eugene N. Anderson, Nebraska; S. H. Brockunier, Wesleyan; Shepard Clough, Columbia; Thomas C. Cochran, New York University; Elmer Ellis, Missouri; and B. J. Loewenberg, Sarah Lawrence. The Council has sponsored the publication of a considerable list of books, which I shall not list except to repeat Professor Clough's suggestion that two Council

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bulletins, No. 58 by Sibley on "The Recruitment, Selection, and Training of Social Scientists" and a study by Charles Wagley on "Area Research and Training" are worthy of the attention of all members. The latter pamphlet represents a field in which the Council has added to its regular fellowships a fellowship program in area research training, and, where such training crosses field lines, will co-operate with the National Research Council.

Other delegates' reports represent watchful attention to groups where we grace the letterhead or where, as in the case of the American Academy in Rome, our delegates have supported the idea of widening its activities and by a resolution proposed to the Council ask for support for this wider program of the Academy and its possibilities as a participant in the Fulbright Act. Dr. Carl Bridenbaugh, our present delegate to the National Parks Association, has recommended that we drop our representation, and the Council has approved.

The last item touches *Social Education,* the periodical for secondary and lower schools. It is true that it is the organ for the National Council on the Social Studies, a far-flung and important body whose annual sessions equal or exceed ours in attendance. We have two members on the governing board—your executive secretary, ex officio, who operates fitfully and at a distance, and Professor Chester M. Destler who really is active and effective. The Association is also the custodian of a backlog fund for the support of the journal. Economies by the editorial board that were almost crippling have kept that fund untouched by any deficit this year. Uncertainties in the division of responsibility as set up by the National Council did not help to make *Social Education* what it might be and what the new editor would like to make it. If I had been writing a month ago, I should have pronounced the outlook for *Social Education* unpromising. A frank discussion and consequent action at a recent meeting have much improved the situation. The National Council should give its best efforts to the support of their organ, for it is their responsibility first, but members of this body can help with such articles as Professor John Hicks wrote for it this year, the sole and only one from any of our group.

If this factual report is longer than usual, it is because the Association is a larger and, I hope, a better organization. Certainly its responsibilities within and beyond national frontiers are increasing and must increase. Let us make sure that it is equal to them.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 27, 1948, 2:00 P. M.

Present: Kenneth S. Latourette, President; Conyers Read, Vice-President; C. W. Cole, A. C. Krey, Ralph H. Lutz, J. G. Randall, Carl Wittke, Arthur P.

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Whitaker, Paul Knaplund, Councilors; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Sidney B. Fay, Charles H. McIlwain, former Presidents; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary; George H. Knoles, Pacific Coast Branch; Dr. Silvio Zavala of the University of Mexico, Lewis Hanke of the Library of Congress, C. H. Haring of Harvard University, guests.

President Latourette called the meeting to order.

Upon motion the minutes of the 1947 meeting of the Council were approved as published in the April, 1948, issue of the *Review* (pp. 689–92).

Mr. Ford presented a summary of his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor, which included a résumé of the work carried out by the standing committees. (See p. 751 above.)

Mr. Buck summarized his report as Treasurer, later presented at the business meeting of the Association. It was emphasized that the receipts of unrestricted funds for the fiscal year 1947–48 exceeded disbursements by $2,414.01 and included in these disbursements was the amount of $5,000 which was transferred to the Fiduciary Trust Company for investment. Mr. Buck further reported for the Finance Committee touching on expenditures in excess of items in last year's budget. After a brief discussion, the Council approved these expenditures. Attention was called to an appropriation of $600 for expenses of a representative to the International Committee of Historical Sciences and an additional $250 for the preparation of the American section of the international bibliography for 1947.

A new item concerning the continuation of the *Writings on American History* was next taken up. After discussion, the Council made available $15,000 for personnel to prepare the copy for the *Writings,* this sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be available to the Library of Congress during the next eighteen months. The volumes of the *Writings* are to be published as part of the *Annual Report* of the Association as soon as government allotments for printing will permit, with the understanding that only the annual *Proceedings* volume and the cumulative index to the *Writings* will have prior claims on those allotments. Mr. Buck further stated that the Library of Congress will include in its budget for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1951, and thereafter, requests for appropriations of at least $10,000 annually for volumes of the *Writings* and that its obligation to continue the project after June 30, 1950, will be contingent on the receipt of such appropriations or of equivalent funds from other sources that may be available for the purpose. The Council agreed to urge the members of the Association concerned with American history to co-operate with the Library of Congress in every practicable way that will promote the success of this project. The Council expressed the view that the budget as amended and revised was not meant to revoke authorization given the Treasurer with the approval of the Executive Secretary to invest the sum of $5,000 as an addition to the capital funds of the Association.

Lewis Hanke of the Library of Congress introduced to the members of the

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Council Dr. Silvio Zavala of the University of Mexico, who presented a statement concerning a joint meeting of the Mexican–United States historians in Monterrey to be held in September. It was proposed that the American Historical Association join in sponsoring such a meeting. If later private funds are made available for the expenses of the meeting, the American Historical Association will accept custody of these funds and will act as a disbursing agent. It was pointed out that the historians participating in the conference need not be specialists in the field of Latin-American history. Upon motion duly made and seconded, the Council voted the approval of the above proposals. Dr. Lewis Hanke was appointed chairman of the committee to act for the Association with power to select his associates in conference with the Executive Secretary.

Mr. Ford reported for the Committee on Committees. He stated that the committee did not find a thorough revision in committee membership possible because of the terms governing some committees and the fact that some committees act on prizes only in alternate years. It was generally understood that term of office be for one year, unless otherwise specified, with the possibility of reappointment. Mr. Ford recommended that the Committee on Manuscripts be discontinued and that the Association suggest to the Society of American Archivists and the Association for State and Local History that they form a joint committee to take over the major proposals of the Committee on Manuscripts. Mr. Buck felt that this joint committee should plan a program designed to accomplish ultimately three things: (1) prepare a union inventory in this country; (2) make known in some way the yearly current accessions of public repositories; (3) establish ways and means whereby repositories can co-operate rather than compete for American historical material. The Council then unanimously voted approval of the reference of these projects to the above two organizations.

The following list of members and delegates of the Association was approved by the Council:

Committee on Committees.—Charles A. Barker, the Johns Hopkins University—term expires December, 1950; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); S. Everett Gleason, jr., 14 Craigie Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts—term expires December, 1950; Robert J. Kerner, University of California, Berkeley—term expires December, 1950; Thomas D. Clark,* University of Kentucky—term expires December, 1951.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Alexandria, Virginia, chairman; Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C.; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Lewis Hanke, Library of Congress; Raymond J. Sontag, Department of State; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Clarence H. Matterson, Iowa

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State College, chairman; Sidney Painter, the Johns Hopkins University; Henry Cord Meyer,* Pomona College, Claremont, California.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—C. V. Easum, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan; Fletcher Green,* University of North Carolina.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley, chairman; Bell I. Wiley, Louisiana State University; David Potter,* Yale University.

Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.—Lowell J. Ragatz, George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Library of Congress (ex officio); Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University; St. George L. Sioussat, Washington, D. C.; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Philip H. Hamer, National Archives.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.—Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College; Philip Davidson, Vanderbilt University; Henrietta Larson, Forest Hills, New York.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, chairman; Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; George Howe, Washington, D. C.; Lynn M. Case,* University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Richard B. Morris, Columbia University, chairman; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Mark D. Howe, Harvard University; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, 744 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey; Zechariah Chafee, jr., Harvard University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; George Haskins, University of Pennsylvania Law School; William B. Hamilton, Duke University.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Taraknath Das,* New York City, chairman—term expires December, 1951; Tyler Dennett, Hague, New York—term expires December, 1951; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin—term expires December, 1950.

Committee on Business Records.—Thomas C. Cochran, New York University, chairman; William D. Overman, 302 East Catawba Avenue, Akron, Ohio; Oliver W. Holmes, The National Archives; Lewis Atherton, University of Missouri; Herbert O. Brayer, Colorado State Museum; Richard Overton, Northwestern University; Arthur H. Cole, Harvard University; Emmett J. Leahy,* Washington, D. C.; Ralph Hidy,* Forest Hills, New York.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University;

*New member this year.

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Louis Knott Koontz, University of California, Los Angeles; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley; Austin P. Evans,* Columbia University; Easton Rothwell,* Hoover Library, Stanford University.

Committee on Government Publications.—Jeannette P. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University; Samuel F. Bemis,* Yale University.

Delegates of the American Historical Association.—American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies in Rome: Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College. *American Council of Learned Societies:* C. W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University; Joseph Strayer, Princeton University. *Representative on American Year Book Supervisory Board:* Thomas C. Cochran, Washington Square College, New York University. *International Committee of Historical Sciences:* Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University. *Representatives on Social Education:* Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester McArthur Destler, Connecticut College. *Social Science Research Council:* Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University, to succeed himself—term expires December, 1951. *National Historical Publications Commission:* Dumas Malone, Columbia University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex.

Mr. Ford presented for consideration the resolution by Professor Howard K. Beale which was referred a year ago to the Committee on Manuscripts. The motion was made and carried that an ad hoc committee be formed to study the arrangement of private donations of personal manuscripts in repositories, this committee to complete its report not later than December 1, 1949. The composition of this committee was approved as follows: Thomas C. Cochran, New York University, chairman; Howard K. Beale, University of Wisconsin; Katharine E. Brand, Library of Congress; Alice Smith, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; George E. Mowry, University of Iowa; Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University.

On motion of Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, the Council voted to increase the award of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship from $1,000 to $1,500. The Council on recommendation of the Committee on the Watumull Prize voted to change the prize to a biennial award.

Mr. Ford, as Managing Editor of the *Review,* nominated Professor Robert J. Kerner of the University of California, Berkeley, to succeed Professor Thad W. Riker of the University of Texas on the Board of Editors. The Council approved this nomination.

George H. Knoles of Stanford University presented a summary of the report of the Pacific Coast Branch. Attention was called to the net gain of 111 members during the year bringing the total membership of the Pacific Coast Branch to 647. This expansion represented in large measure the continued effort of the

*New member this year.

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General Membership Committee organized by Robert J. Kerner in 1947. The present chairman of the committee is Carl F. Brand, vice-president of the Branch. A revision of the constitution with a new set of by-laws was approved by the Council of the American Historical Association on February 26, 1948. The officers and members of the Branch are well satisfied with their present position within the American Historical Association. Upon Dr. Latourette's suggestion, Mr. Ford was authorized to extend greetings to the Council and membership of the Pacific Coast Branch with wishes for the success of their meetings which were held in Seattle, Washington, December 27, 28, and 29.

David Owen of Harvard University was chosen chairman of the Program Committee and Walter M. Whitehill of the Boston Athenaeum was chosen chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee for the 1949 meeting in Boston.

The Council next considered the selection of two United States historians whose portraits are to be hung in the hall of the Historical Division of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, University of Mexico. As a result of the poll of the Council members taken in July, Francis Parkman scored the majority of points with F. J. Turner and Henry Adams receiving practically the same number of points. On motion, the Council approved the selection of Francis Parkman and F. J. Turner. The Executive Secretary and Arthur P. Whitaker were given authority to look for funds with which to have portraits made by competent artists.

On motion made and carried, the Council approved the publication of a new edition of the list of doctoral dissertations. The call to all chairmen of history departments will go out in March and the list will probably be published in September. The Council also voted to put a seven-year limit on the length of time that any one candidate may reserve a topic. To meet the cost of printing a new edition, the Executive Secretary was authorized to make the necessary adjustments in the budget.

The Council gave its full endorsement without financial obligation to the joint sponsorship with the American Association of Anthropologists of the International Congress of Americanists in New York in September.

The Council took up for discussion the request made by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History for a report on the teaching of history in United States from primary grades through graduate work. No action was taken as no effective or practicable means of supplying this survey could be found.

Upon Mr. Ford's recommendation, the Council voted to drop our representation on the Board of Trustees of the National Parks Association.

Mr. Ford next submitted for consideration a proposal by our delegates to the Joint Committee of the American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies in Rome that the Association approve the Academy as the possible recipient of funds for fellowships under the Fulbright law. Without further discussion, the Council gave its approval of this proposal.

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By unanimous vote, the Council re-elected Shepard B. Clough as delegate to the Social Science Research Council for the years 1949–51.

The budget of *Social Education* was next reviewed and unanimously approved.

The Council voted to elect Professors Thomas J. Wertenbaker (chairman), Sidney B. Fay, Kenneth S. Latourette, and Conyers Read as members of the Executive Committee to act with the Executive Secretary and Treasurer.

On motion, the Council voted that the 1951 meeting of the Association be held in New York.

Upon Mr. Buck's recommendation, the Council voted that the Association revive its membership in the American Documentation Institute and that a contribution of $25 be given to the Institute, this item to appear in the budget under "Historical Activities." On motion, the Council appointed Mr. Buck to represent the Association in the Institute.

The Council appointed Conyers Read and Ralph H. Lutz as a committee to present at the business meeting resolutions expressing the appreciation of the Association to the various committees and agencies and persons responsible for the efficient handling of the problems involved in the arrangements for the 1948 meeting.

There being no further business, the Council adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMEBER 29, 1948, 4:00 P. M.

President Kenneth S. Latourette called the meeting to order with about two hundred members present. It was unanimously voted to approve the minutes of the last meeting as printed in the April, 1948, issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 689–92).

Mr. Ford read his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 751 ff. above.)

The Treasurer, Mr. Buck, presented a summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members. The motion was made and passed to accept the report and to place it on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1948.)

By unanimous vote, Mr. Shepard Morgan was re-elected to the Board of Trustees.

Next, a brief statement on necrology was given by Mr. Ford reporting the deaths of forty-two members since December, 1947.

Mr. Ford, in the absence of the chairman, Professor Carl Stephenson, gave the report of the Nominating Committee. As a result of the largest mail ballot (632) yet cast, the committee announced the election of the following:

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Members of the Council—Professor Max H. Savelle of the University of Washington and Professor A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan.

Members of the Nominating Committee—Professor Louis R. Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, Professor John A. Krout of Columbia University, and Professor Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University.

For the presidency of the Association for the year 1949, the committee nominated Professor Conyers Read; for the vice-presidency, Professor Samuel E. Morison; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck. On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all nominees and they were declared elected.

Mr. Ford reported on the following action taken by the Council at its meeting:

The report of the Committee on Committees; the status of the Committee on Manuscripts; the disposition of the resolution presented by Professor Howard K. Beale in 1947; the arrangements for the continuation of *Writings on American History;* modifications in the terms of the Watumull Prize and the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship; the election as delegate of Professor Shepard B. Clough to the Social Science Research Council; the membership of the Executive Committee; place of the 1949, 1950, and 1951 meetings; announcement of the program chairman, Professor David E. Owen, and the local arrangements chairman, Mr. Walter M. Whitehill, for the 1949 meeting; new member of the Board of Editors; new edition of the list of doctoral dissertations; membership in the American Documentation Institute and the appointment of Dr. Solon J. Buck as representative; sponsorship of a joint meeting of the Mexican–United States historians in Monterrey and the appointment of Dr. Lewis Hanke as chairman of the United States committee; joint sponsorship (with no financial obligation) with the American Association of Anthropologists for the session of the International Congress of Americanists; the selection of two United States historians (Francis Parkman and Frederick J. Turner) whose portraits are to be hung in the hall of the Historical Division of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. (See minutes of the Council meeting, pp. 759 ff., above.)

Professor George H. Knoles of Stanford University presented the report of the Pacific Coast Branch.

The following resolution was submitted by Dr. Conyers Read, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, the American Historical Association deeply appreciates the gracious hospitality of the City of Washington and the tireless efforts of those who have implemented that hospitality: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Association record its hearty thanks to Professor Palmer of Princeton and his associates on the Program Committee for their bountiful feast of reason and flow of soul; to the Committee on Local Arrangements and especially to its chairman, Dean Kayser of George Washington University, for their attention to our more material needs; to the staff of our Washington office

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and especially to Dr. Ford and to Miss Patty Washington for their constant help in every aspect of the meeting; to the staff of the Mayflower Hotel for their courtesy and helpfulness, and particularly to Mr. MacLellan King, their special representative for the arrangement of the meeting; to the Greater National Capital Committee of the Washington Board of Trade which has generously contributed the services of its trained staff in handling efficiently and courteously the painful but necessary business of registration; to Rear Admiral James L. Holloway, jr., Superintendent of the United States Naval Academy, who has invited the members of the Association and their wives to visit the Naval Academy and to meet the members of his faculty; to the Washington newspaper press for the sympathetic presentation of our interests and our problems.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution be spread upon the minutes of the Association and that copies of it be sent to all those to whom it is specifically addressed.

On motion duly made and seconded, these resolutions were unanimously approved.

At the call for other business, Mr. Ralph Guinness presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Association form a committee of historical scholars to cooperate with other learned societies, religious leaders, and other public leaders, and all political parties to educate for peace and democracy to prevent an atomic third world war; that this committee collect data on causes and cure of war, evaluate it for validity and reliability and present its findings and conclusions and recommendations to the United States government and the United Nations; and be it further

Resolved, That the work and report of this committee constitute the program for the 1949 A.H.A. convention; and be it further

Resolved, That the members present at this business meeting request the Executive Board to call a special interim session at the conclusion of the annual dinner and presidential address for the consideration of the two preceding parts of this resolution.

The resolutions were seconded. Mr. Guinness then spoke earnestly and at some length in support of his resolutions, which embodied ideas he had been advocating for twenty-five years. Professor Frank M. Anderson, the senior member of the Association present at the session, rose to point out the unwisdom of diverting the Association as a body to matters not implicit in its charter from Congress. As individuals we might be sympathetic with this or various other good causes but, if we make the Association the proponent of one good cause, we will be faced with an endless list of causes as good in the eyes of an individual member, or group of members, as is the one embodied in these resolutions. He hoped the Association would not set a precedent, the end results of which no one could foresee. A vote was called for and the motion was decisively lost.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

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American Historical Association

With this issue the editorial responsibilities for the United States history section, so long carried by the late Dr. E. C. Burnett, are assumed by Professor Richard J. Purcell of the Catholic University of America.

In the execution of its task, the Nominating Committee solicits the active cooperation of members of the Association. It would welcome suggestions of possible nominees for vice-president, for the two vacancies that will occur in the Council, and the two places to be filled on the Nominating Committee itself. The members of the Council are as follows: A. E. R. Boak, Charles W. Cole, A. C. Krey, Paul Knaplund, J. G. Randall, Arthur P. Whitaker, Carl Wittke, Max H. Savelle. The outgoing members are Professors A. C. Krey and Charles W. Cole. The members of the Nominating Committee are as follows: Marshall M. Knappen, Jeannette P. Nichols, Louis R. Gottschalk, John A. Krout, Robert R. Palmer. The outgoing members are Marshall M. Knappen and Jeannette P. Nichols. Will members please send their suggestions to the chairman of the Nominating Committee, Professor Marshall M. Knappen, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The ninth meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Paris, August 27 to September 2, 1950. The French committee is charged with its arrangements and organization. The American Historical Association will act as the national committee for the United States. The Congress will be divided into the following sections: (a) anthropology and demography, (b) history of ideas, (c) economic history, (d) social history, (e) history of civilization, (f) political history, (g) history of institutions. Each of these sections will be divided into subsections as follows: (1) prehistory and ancient history, (2) history of the Middle Ages, (3) modern history to the war of 1914; (4) contemporary history from 1914 to 1939. In addition to these sections a certain number of subjects of which a list will be published later will be the object of special conferences. The papers that are to be presented in the above sections and subsections will be prepared by scholars designated by the national committee. Their presentation and discussion will occupy the forenoon sessions. The afternoon sessions will be open to papers by individual scholars of the various nationalities whose topics and competency have been approved by the national committee. These volunteered papers must in all cases come within the compass of the topics named for the major sections above and be so written that they bring out the broad implications of the subject or its possibility of comparative study. Only such papers can be made the subject of a general discussion in a congress representing many nationalities. A special committee has been formed to stimulate and guide American participation in the Congress. American scholars who expect to be in Europe at the time of the Congress and desire to present papers for

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the afternoon sessions are asked to write the Executive Secretary, American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C., as promptly as possible and to indicate the subjects they have in mind to present. Papers may be read in any one of the five official languages of the Congress.

The attention of writers and students of history and of publishers of historical works is called to the competition in 1949 for the following prizes and fellowships to be awarded by committees of the American Historical Association. Unless otherwise stated, applications, manuscripts, or books should be in the hands of the respective chairmen by July 1:

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship—amount $1,500. One half ($750) is payable upon announcement of the award and the remainder upon the committee's acceptance of the manuscript in form for publication. Terms: The fellowship is awarded for the best original manuscript in English, either completed or in progress, on American history. By "American history" is meant the history of the United States, Latin America, and Canada, from 1492 to the present. Each fellowship carries an award which provides for publication of the manuscript by the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund and the payment of $1,500 in cash to the author. In addition the author will receive a five per cent royalty of the retail price of the book after editorial and manufacturing costs have been met. In the discretion of the committee other meritorious manuscripts submitted in the competition may also be published on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund. Such manuscripts will receive honorable mention in the announcement of the annual award of the fellowship. Manuscripts may range from approximately 50,000 to 125,000 words in length and must be of a scholarly character. Literary merit will be an important factor in determining the award. Biographies, monographs, and works of synthesis and interpretation are eligible; translations, anthologies, and collections of documents are not. As small a part as one half of the manuscript may be submitted at the time of application, but it must be accompanied by a detailed outline of the balance; and no doctoral thesis will be eligible unless it is complete and has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree. Blank forms for application may be obtained from the chairman of the committee, Arthur P. Whitaker, 208 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

The Carnegie Revolving Fund. The committee in charge of this fund publishes historical monographs submitted in manuscript and dealing in scholarly form with any topic in the whole field of history. In general such manuscripts may be of a length from 50,000 to 125,000 words but, when justified by the topic and treatment, may reasonably exceed the above upper limit. Manuscripts or inquiries should be sent to Professor Ray A. Billington, department of history, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

The George Louis Beer Prize is awarded annually for the best work in

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manuscript or print dealing with any phase of European international history since 1895. Only works in the English language by American citizens will be considered. The award of about $200 is the income from an endowment of $6,000 held in trust by the Association. Books or manuscripts submitted by publishers or authors should be addressed to Professor C. V. Easum, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

The Watumull Prize is awarded biennially in the amount of $500. It is up for competition in 1949. It will be given for the best book on the history of India published in the United States. Publishers or authors should send books to Dr. Taraknath Das, Hotel Ansonia, Broadway at 73d Street, New York.

Other Historical Activities

The main body of the personal papers of Albert J. Beveridge, United States senator from 1899 to 1911 and author of biographies of John Marshall and Abraham Lincoln, has recently been presented to the Library of Congress by Mrs. Beveridge. Senator Beveridge's office files and the papers he accumulated in connection with his biographical studies have been in the Library for some years. The newly received papers cover the years 1890 to 1927 and many of them reflect the senator's activities as an "insurgent" in Congress and as a leader in the Progressive party that nominated Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency in 1912.

The papers of Judge Ben Lindsey, whose concern with the problems of juvenile delinquency made him a nationally known figure in the first four decades of the present century, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Lindsey. They are concerned mainly with Judge Lindsey's contributions to the development of the juvenile court system and his services as a Juvenile Court judge in Denver and later as a Superior Court judge in California, but they include some material on his political and literary activities.

Mrs. Charles S. Hamlin has presented to the Library over three hundred letters written to her husband and herself by political and social figures of the last half century, including Grover Cleveland and a number of cabinet members and others prominent during the Cleveland and Wilson administrations. They supplement Hamlin's diaries and scrapbooks, which were already in the Library.

Recent acquisitions of "literary" material by the Library of Congress include a collection of autograph manuscripts (448 pages) of poems by Edwin Arlington Robinson assembled by the late Louis Ledoux, presented by Mrs. Gertrude Clarke Whittall, and over a hundred letters (most of which have been printed) written by A. E. Housman to his publisher, Grant Richards, from 1910 to 1935.

Other recent manuscript acquisitions of the Library include the *subpoena duce tecum* authorized by Chief Justice John Marshall on June 13, 1807, on mo-

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tion of Aaron Burr, directing President Jefferson, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn "or either of them" to appear with certain relevant papers at Burr's trial for treason, presented by Mrs. Douglas W. Haward; the journal kept by William H. Crawford during the early months of his service as minister to France (June–November, 1813) with drafts or copies of thirteen of his letters written between 1813 and 1831 (all in print except five of the letters), presented by Mrs. Paul Lewinson; and a four-page letter written by Woodrow Wilson in 1882 to Professor Moses S. Slaughter, concerning the most effective method of teaching Caesar's Commentaries, presented by Mrs. Slaughter.

Microfilm reproductions of material in the British Public Record Office recently received by the Library include fifty volumes of Foreign Office papers, Series 5 (United States) consisting of correspondence of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with the British minister to the United States for the years 1872, 1880, and 1881, and special dossiers on the Fenian Brotherhood (1867–72), the Hudson's Bay Company (1859–71), the Naturalization Treaty of 1870 (1868–71), the cases of the *Shenandoah* (1864–72) and of the *Maury* and the *America* (1855–72), and the Northwest Boundary (1870–74). To reproductions of material in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, have been added microfilms of Patronato, Legajos 265 and 266 relating to voyages and depredations of Sir Francis Drake and other English seamen in the Spanish Indies (1528–96).

A small but very important body of early Post Office records was received recently by the National Archives. Of particular interest among these records is a manuscript journal of Hugh Finlay, colonial surveyor of post roads on the continent of North America. Beginning on September 13, 1773, and ending on May 24, 1774, it describes his exploration of the lands from the Chaudiere River in Canada to the first settlements on the Kennebec River, his settlement of accounts, and his examination of post-office procedures and facilities from New England to Savannah, Georgia. The journal, which also contains recommendations for improving the postal service, is a fair copy. It apparently belonged to Finlay and it was purchased by the Post Office Department in 1869. The original journal, in two parts, is in the British Museum. Other records of note in this accession include a ledger containing the accounts of Benjamin Franklin as Postmaster General of the colonies, July 26, 1775–November 7, 1776, and of Richard Bache as Postmaster General, November 7, 1776–July 5, 1778; and other ledgers, journals, and cash books of the Post Office for various periods between 1782 and 1796.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has been permitted by the office of the governor of New York to borrow the papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt

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as governor of New York and of Herbert H. Lehman as lieutenant governor in order that it may microfilm them. Mrs. Constance R. Winant has presented the papers of her husband, the late John G. Winant, to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. The papers covering his ambassadorship and other European activities have not yet arrived in this country, but they will also be given to the Library. The Winant papers are not yet available for research use. Among materials in the library recently opened for research are White House correspondence concerning the American Red Cross, 1933–45, the personal diary of Thomas W. Brahany, chief clerk of the White House executive office, March 4 to April 24, 1917, and the school records and papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1890–1904, comprising his tutorial papers, 1890–96, the Groton School papers, 1896–1900, and the Harvard College papers, 1899–1904. The library has also made available the logbook of the houseboat *Larooco,* which contains entries for the period 1924–26.

A recent publication of the National Archives is *A List of Federal Agencies Terminated since 1933 and Agencies Now Having Custody of Their Personnel Records,* compiled in 1945 by Guy A. Lee and revised by Seymour Pomrenze. Copies may be obtained from the Exhibits and Information Office, National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

The Charles Darwin Collection, recently acquired by the University of Virginia library, is a notable group of books in the history of science in the nineteenth century. All of the first editions and all of the variant issues of the first editions of Darwin's works are included among the five hundred volumes which comprise the collection. Other materials include autograph letters, corrected proofs, and articles by Darwin, as well as rare editions of works on evolution by Darwin's predecessors and contemporaries.

The first volume of a new edition of Franz Schnabel's *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* has appeared in Germany (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder & Co., 1947, pp. viii, 628). (See review of vols. I–IV, *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XLIV [January, 1939], 371.) Since the original four volumes, as a result of the Nazi ban in 1937, have become virtually unobtainable in Germany, Dr. Schnabel has decided to concentrate first on the preparation of new editions of the four completed volumes. Thereafter, he will work on the fifth volume, presumably on the Revolution of 1848.

A supplement to the two-volume *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in United States and Canada* (1935–37) is being prepared by C. U. Faye of the University of Illinois. New entries and supplementary information on old entries will follow the same rules for inclusion and exclusion as did the first

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edition. A descriptive pamphlet may be obtained by addressing Professor Faye, P. O. Box 395, Champaign, Illinois. It is hoped that information about new entries may make it possible to go to press this summer.

During the war a number of texts and reference books that were valuable for teachers of history went out of print. There have been many requests for various of these books, but unless a sufficient number of calls are made for a particular text the possibilities of lithographing or otherwise reprinting them are probably negligible; therefore anyone who desires a book to be reprinted should write to Professor A. C. Krey at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, where a check list is being assembled to see how many of these books might be reproduced.

In connection with the preparation of the centennial history of the YMCA information is desired concerning the following manuscripts: an autobiographical manuscript written in the 1880's by William Chauncy Langdon (1831–95); the major files of the American Confederation, which disappeared during the Civil War; correspondence of Richard C. McCormick (1832–1901) for the period prior to the Civil War. Anyone having knowledge of these manuscripts should communicate with C. Howard Hopkins, National Council, YMCA, 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

The University Committee on the United Nations in Columbia University serves as a liaison and service organization to the staff and students of the university and the staff of the United Nations. The committee wishes to maintain a record of research, now under way, on the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Information of such studies (title, researches, and institution) would be welcomed by Mr. Channing B. Richardson, Liaison Officer to the United Nations, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

In April, 1947, with the approval of General Clay, a "German Office for Peace Questions" *(Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen)* was created in the American zone of Germany for the purpose of collecting material on all questions concerning a German peace treaty to have ready in case of future negotiations with the victorious powers. Those in charge would appreciate any material or documents which might be of use to them and would be happy to assist any scholars who might come to Germany. Communications should be addressed to the director, Dr. Fritz Eberhard, State Secretary for Württemberg-Baden, Postfach 799, Stuttgart 1, Germany (American zone).

The American Philosophical Society has made research grants ranging from $250 to $2,000 to the following scholars in the field of history: Paul O. Kris-

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teller, Columbia University, catalogue of MSS. in Italian libraries containing writings of humanists of the 15th and 16th centuries; W. Stanford Reid, McGill University, study of Scottish trade and trading middle class; Willson H. Coates, University of Rochester, two-part project on English Long Parliament; Emmy F. Heller, Brooklyn College, *Summa Dictaminis* of Thomas of Capua, Cardinal Presbyter of St. Sabina, 1216–1239; Antonio Pace, Syracuse University, Franklin and Italy; Richard L. Power, St. Lawrence University, book depicting the content and implications of the Upland Southern and Yankee cultures during the 19th century; Carl Bode, University of Maryland, book on "The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind"; Elizabeth H. Cawley, Princeton University, editing Richard Cobden's diaries; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College, study of the radical literature of the third quarter of the 18th century; Ernst Levy, Washington Law School, book, "West Roman Vulgar Law"; Ernest Honigmann, Asia Institute, New York, "Patristic Studies," history of the ancient Greek church; Sanborn C. Brown, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, life and scientific work of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford; and Thomas D. Cope, University of Pennsylvania, Mason and Dixon tradition in America.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York recently made a grant of $100,000, payable over a period of five years, to the University of North Carolina for the development of an interdisciplinary research program at the Institute for Research in Social Science. Further information may be secured from Professor Gordon Blackwell, Director, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

It is gratifying to announce as a supplement to the formation of the National Records Management Council (see p. 756 above) that the Council has received a grant of $35,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation. This will be devoted to a study of the problems involved in the preservation and management of business records. The officers of the Council are Dr. Thomas Cochran, president, Emmett J. Leahy, executive director, Joseph P. Brennen, associate director, and Robert A. Shiff, records management consultant and assistant to the executive director.

Under the authority given it by the Fulbright Act the Department of State has signed agreements providing for educational exchanges with nine countries: Belgium and Luxembourg, Burma, China, France, Greece, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom. It is expected that agreements may be signed at a future date with the following countries: Australia, Austria, Egypt, India, Iran, Italy, the Netherlands, the Netherlands East Indies, Norway, Pakistan, Siam, and Turkey. The statement of the Department on conditions and policies is as follows:

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It should be stressed that the only funds made available by the act are in foreign currencies. Consequently, each American participating in the program must make his own individual arrangements for such dollar balances as he will require to meet family needs and other obligations in the United States during his absence abroad. The Fulbright Program is still in its initial stages and policy decisions are in the process of formulation. It can be said, however, that stipends may be expected to bear a reasonable relation to the grantee's salary and in addition an allowance may be provided for housing and cost-of-living as well as a small allowance for books and equipment, local travel, etc. Transportation for grantees from and to the United States may be provided, in addition to the total award, when the foreign currency is acceptable to carriers. Transportation inside the United States will not be provided. While the term "educational activities" may be interpreted broadly, the following amplification will serve as an indication of those envisaged: "Assistance to Americans to study, teach and conduct research abroad in connection with institutions of higher learning, and to add to the store of knowledge of foreign areas, peoples, and cultures. Assistance to a limited number of foreign students to study in American institutions in their respective countries and to assist foreign students and teachers to engage in educational activities in the United States by paying for their transportation wherever foreign currencies can be used for this purpose."

Inquiries about these opportunities and requests for application forms should be addressed to one of the three agencies to which the Board of Foreign Scholarships and the Department of State have delegated responsibility for preliminary screening of applicants for grants: Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York (for graduate study); United States Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D. C. (for teaching in elementary and secondary schools); and the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. (for teaching at the college level and for postdoctoral research).

The second session of the Mount Holyoke College Institute on the United Nations will be held from June 26 through July 23. The program, planned with the aid of a group of consultants and officials of the United Nations, will include lectures and discussions and weekly trips to Lake Success. Further information may be obtained from Mary J. Levy, Executive Secretary, Mount Holyoke College Institute on the United Nations, South Hadley, Massachusetts.

The American University's School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, Washington, D. C., will offer as a part of its 1949 summer session an intensive Institute in the Preservation and Interpretation of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Institute, open to a limited number of qualified students, will be in session for three weeks beginning June 6 and will be offered in co-operation with the National Park Service and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. Two of the three weeks will be spent in Washington and the final week in Williamsburg, Virginia.

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The Historical Society of North Carolina met at Greensboro on November 13 for the 1948 fall meeting. Dr. C. O. Cathey of the University of North Carolina read a paper on "The Development of Tools and Instruments in North Carolina Agriculture, 1783–1860"; Mr. Richard C. Todd of Duke University read a paper on "The Produce Loan: A Means of Financing the Confederacy." The presidential address by Dr. Adelaide Fries of Winston-Salem was on "A Century of the Textile Industry in Salem." Officers for 1948–49 were elected as follows: president, Dr. R. D. W. Connor of the University of North Carolina; vice-president, Dr. Charles Sydnor of Duke University; secretary-treasurer, Dr. Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina; members of the council, Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College and Dr. D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College.

At the annual meeting of the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh on December 3 the Mayflower Society award was given to Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University for the best book published by a resident North Carolinian during the year. Dr. Sydnor's book is entitled *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819–1848.*

Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, has established the position of university historian and appointed Dr. Richard P. McCormick, assistant professor of history, as the first incumbent.

Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes

On the nomination of the State Department, President Truman has appointed Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, of the University of Pennsylvania, American representative on the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History.

E. Wilder Spaulding, formerly chief of the Division of Publications of the Department of State, has been assigned to the United States legation at Vienna as public affairs officer.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the appointment of Theodore R. Schellenberg to serve as program adviser of the National Archives. Mr. Schellenberg was a member of the staff from 1935 to 1945, when he went to the Office of Price Administration to plan and conduct that agency's records program. Philip C. Brooks, who since 1935 has served the National Archives in many capacities, most recently as assistant director of the General Records Division, has transferred to the National Security Resources Board to take charge of its records

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program. Martin P. Claussen has transferred from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, where he was in charge of the finding-aids and publications program, to the Department of the Army to serve as assistant chief of the Departmental Records Branch of the Adjutant General's Office.

Karl L. Trever, of the Natural Resources Records Division of the National Archives, has been named to succeed Margaret C. Norton as editor of the *American Archivist,* published quarterly by the Society of American Archivists. The July issue will be the first to be published under his editorship.

Dixon Wecter, chairman of the research staff at the Huntington Library and part-time professor of English at the University of California, Los Angeles, has been appointed Byrne professor of United States history at the University of California, Berkeley. He will take up his new duties in the fall of 1949.

George F. G. Stanley, formerly of the University of British Columbia, has been appointed head of the department of history at the Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston. R. A. Preston, formerly of the University of Toronto, has been appointed professor of history in the same institution.

In Northwestern University, Gray C. Boyce has been named chairman of the department of history. Howard F. Cline, formerly of Yale University, has been appointed assistant professor of history to have charge of the work in Hispanic-American history.

Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College has assumed the editorship of the *Hispanic American Historical Review.*

Guy P. Chapman, of the University of Leeds, England, is visiting professor at the University of Pittsburgh for the current academic year. C. J. Amundson, professor of history in the University of Pittsburgh, is on leave to give lectures at the University of Leeds for the same period. Also in the University of Pittsburgh, William H. Bliss, of Oxford, England, has been appointed instructor in English history, and James A. Kehl and Robert D. Duncan have been appointed instructors in history.

William E. Lunt has been granted sabbatic leave from Haverford College for the spring semester. He is working in the English archives.

Stuart R. Tompkins of the department of history of the University of Oklahoma is on leave of absence during the second semester to do research on the social and intellectual history of Russia.

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Albert L. Olson, formerly of Marshall College, has gone to Augustana College as professor of history.

The department of history of Hunter College announces the promotion to associate professorships of Abbie Turner Scudi, Beatrice F. Hyslop, and Mary Latimer Gambrell. Thomas B. Davis has been promoted to the rank of junior assistant professor.

Donald F. Carmony, director of the South Bend-Mishawaka Center of the Division of Adult Education and Public Services of Indiana University, was promoted to associate professor of history at the beginning of the current academic year. In the same institution, Jack J. Detzler, assistant director of the center and instructor in history, is on leave of absence for further graduate study, and Gerald L. Shannon has been appointed instructor in history while Mr. Detzler is on leave.

Louis L. Snyder has been promoted to associate professor of history in the City College of New York.

Philip W. Powell, formerly of Northwestern University, has gone to the University of California, Santa Barbara, as associate professor of history.

William R. Reynolds has been promoted to assistant professor of history and David L. Dykstra has been appointed instructor in history at Hofstra College, Hampstead, Long Island.

Frank T. Harrowing has joined the staff of the San Jacinto Museum of History, San Jacinto Monument (Houston), Texas, as assistant director.

Dorothy L. Thompson, formerly of Stanford University, has been appointed assistant professor of history at Bard College. Felix E. Hirsch, professor of history in the same institution, is on leave of absence in Europe.

Jeannette P. Nichols of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, has been invited to lecture this summer at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, and at the University of Zurich.

In the department of history in the University of Nebraska Stanley Ross has been appointed instructor, E. N. Johnson is on leave of absence during the second semester to continue research on the crusading orders in the Baltic, and Fred Ericson of Michigan Normal School and Thomas LeDuc of Oberlin College have accepted appointments to teach in the summer session.

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Thomas P. Martin is serving as visiting professor of history during the second semester at West Virginia University. He succeeds John D. Carter, who has resigned to accept an appointment in the air historical office of the Department of the Air Force.

Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky is serving as visiting professor of history at the University of Wisconsin during the spring semester.

Sydney N. Fisher, associate professor of history in Ohio State University, served as visiting professor of history and political science at John B. Stetson University, Deland, Florida, during the winter quarter, 1949.

Guido Kisch has accepted an invitation to serve as visiting professor of legal history at the University of Lund, Sweden.

Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania will serve on the staff of the department of history in Stanford University during the coming summer term.

John Alden of the University of Nebraska will teach at the University of Chicago summer session.

Samuel Flagg Bemis, Sterling professor of diplomatic history and Inter-American relations, Yale University, has been appointed to a visiting professorship for the second term of the summer session in the University of Wyoming.

Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania has been invited to lecture at the summer session of the University of Zurich.

Eva M. Sanford of Sweet Briar College and Charles C. Scott of Chico State College will teach in the summer session of the University of New Mexico.

Edgar I. Stewart of Eastern Washington College will teach at the College of the Pacific, Stockton, California, during the second summer session, 1949.

Recent Deaths

Edmund Cody Burnett died in Washington, January 10, at the age of eighty-four. His last activity was attendance at the meetings of the Association the preceding week. He was one of the seven surviving members who attended the meeting in New York in 1896. In this span of years he had done much solid historical research, writing, and editing. From 1907 to his retirement in 1939 he was a member of the staff of the Historical Division of the Carnegie Institution in

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Washington working under his old teacher at Brown University, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson. At the time of his death he was serving as bibliographical editor of the American section of this journal, a task he had performed faithfully for many years. He was the last direct link between the *Review* of today and Dr. Jameson's day. Dr. Burnett was born in Alabama but for him the East Tennessee mountains were home. He received his bachelor's degree from Carson College (Tennessee), and his graduate training at Brown University, where he took his doctorate in 1897 and was honored with the degree of D. Litt. in 1938. His very considerable list of publications was thus appropriately recognized. He had made the Revolutionary period peculiarly his own by his study of the Continental Congress. Between 1921 and 1936 he edited and published eight volumes under the title *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress,* and in 1941 published his chief work, *The Continental Congress,* which was awarded the Loubat Prize. As nearly as any work can, this merits the adjective "definitive." Beyond this he filled out a life of quiet, unremitting study with articles, monographs, reviews, and biographical sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Dictionary of American History.*

For thirty-three years a prominent member of the faculty at Goucher College, Katharine Jeanne Gallagher died on December 9, 1948, at Glendale, California, where she had been living on leave of absence since September, 1947, because of failing health. She received her bachelor's degree at Vassar College and her advanced degrees at the University of Wisconsin, the doctorate in 1915. She came to Goucher College in the fall of 1915 as instructor in history and rose rapidly to full professor. Her special field of interest in history was the Italian Renaissance, and the many generations of Goucher College students who attended her interesting and vivid lectures on that subject, as well as in other courses in European history, counted themselves fortunate. For many years she also taught evening classes at the Johns Hopkins University. It was, however, as brilliant public lecturer, rather than as research scholar and writer, that she made her richest contribution. She applied her alert mind and her knowledge of the past to the interpretation of the events and problems of the contemporary world. Her lectures on the troubled period between the two world wars, when she was at the height of her intellectual powers, remain vivid recollections to many members of the Baltimore community.

Frances Gillespie, associate professor of history in the University of Chicago, died on November 29 at the age of sixty-three. She was the author of *Labor and Politics in England, 1850–67* (1927) and had been a member of this Association since 1922.

John Franklin Daniel, 3d, professor of practical archaeology, University of

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Pennsylvania, succumbed to a heart attack in Ankara, Turkey, December 17, at the age of thirty-eight. Dr. Daniel had served the university as a member of the expedition to Cyprus in 1934, as Harrison Fellow, 1938–40, assistant curator of the Museum since 1940, and professor since 1941. He was editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and at the time of his death was on a reconnaissance trip for the museum to choose sites for future excavations.

Thomas M. Owen, jr., recently retired after many years as chief of the Division of Veterans Administration Records in the National Archives, died in Washington on December 5, 1948, after several months of illness. Edward F. Rowse of the Natural Resources Division of the National Archives, who also retired recently, died on October 25, 1948.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

The "Notes and Suggestions" of our distinguished colleague from the University of Pennsylvania in the latest issue of this *Review* regarding "Recent United States and British Government Publication on the London Naval Conference of 1930" are somewhat bewildering. He notes certain considerations, like the terms of the State Department order of 1925, which might possibly have produced significant omissions from the official volumes, and he suggests that various types of omission have been perpetrated at the expense of the defenseless historian.

It is amazing to find Dr. Read maintaining (p. 313) that "the historian finds himself completely at the mercy of the editor and, in the case of the State Department publications, at the mercy of an editor whose anonymity prevents any real appraisal of his qualifications for his job." For almost three years the files of the Department up through the year 1932 have been open to scholars. Any reputable American scholar can, therefore, come to Washington, call for the files on the London Naval Conference, and check the validity of the 1929 and 1930 volumes which Dr. Read is questioning.

As to the alleged anonymity of the State Department editors, I would point out that the Department's press releases of December 18, 1943 and March 11, 1945 announcing the publication of the volumes discussed by Dr. Read gave the names of the actual editors and their supervisors. Most of the Department's editors are historians trained in the country's best graduate schools. Since, after some eighteen years of association with them in their work, I am no longer connected with their operation, it may be appropriate for me to say that they have, in my opinion, long been distinguished as a group for their intellectual integrity. Despite any human frailties of judgment in selection, they have very consistently represented the point of view of enlightened scholarship and never the hush-hush traditions of nineteenth century diplomacy. And with very few exceptions the Department has published the full record as compiled by these scholars.

Now that the Department's files are so voluminous that only a small proportion of the papers on any major subject can be printed, there is bound to be increasing disagreement as to selection. I am sure that the compilers of *Foreign Relations*

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have welcomed Dr. Read's suggestions upon that score. My purpose here is only to emphasize that work on the 1929 and 1930 volumes was done by sound scholars who had no intention of distorting the record, that those scholars were not anonymous, and that any historian can come to Washington and, by consulting the files, review their work.

Washington, D. C. E. WILDER SPAULDING

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Conyers Read suggests that, as the editor responsible for the first volume of the second series of Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–39, I did not enter the Foreign Office archives like a bull in a china-shop, but, on his own description of me, I must have entered them like a rather dishonest cat walking on hot bricks. My impression of myself, while doing the work, was so strangely different that I hope you will allow me a few comments about the alleged limitations, self-imposed or otherwise, on my editorial work. In particular, may I say how far my selection of documents was affected by the limitations to which Professor Read refers on page 308 of the *Review*? The first of these limitations did not apply to this volume, and has not applied to any succeeding volume of the British Collection. I decided upon a "time-lag" of at least ten years between the year of publication and the year of the documents published, (in the case of the volume under review the "time-lag" was sixteen years) partly because it would relieve me from any difficulty relating to current negotiations.

The second limitation did not affect my selection of documents. I chose the documents which seemed to me most relevant. There was no "screening" of papers: I had access to everything I wanted to see. ("Screening" would be technically almost impossible in the case of ten-year old papers in the Foreign Office archives.) After my selection was in proof, I listed the documents originating from foreign governments, and I asked the Foreign Office (in accordance with long-standing diplomatic usage) to obtain the formal consent for the publication of these documents from governments which extended similar treatment to the British Government. In every case this consent was given. I never expected otherwise; it is the obvious interest of a government to "do as it would be done by" in this matter of consent. Here again, the "time-lag" is of great importance. One might get serious and reasonable objections in regard to the publication of documents affecting current negotiations; the London Naval Conference of 1930, from the point of view of all governments in 1946, was a matter of history. If I had received refusals, I should have "tried again," and in the last resort I should have had to insert a note to the effect that permission had been refused by the governments concerned for the publication of such and such documents.

The third limitation—"offence to national feeling"—did not arise. If it had arisen, I should have had to risk it. In the case of possible offence or damage to individuals (this would be mainly a matter of epithets or sentences, not of whole documents) I decided (a) that, where necessary, I would cut out obnoxious personal references if their omission did not distort the meaning of a document or conceal any important fact; (b) that, if I had to make such omissions, I would always put a footnote to the effect that an excision had been made. In fact, I found that these "personal" omissions were much fewer than I had expected. I invite Professor Read to count them. Otherwise I have cut out nothing except (to save printing) routine references and classifications for office purposes. Here again

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the "time-lag" is of importance. Personal comments tend to lose their sting and relevance after ten or fifteen years.

The fourth limitation did not arise, i.e. I had no hesitation about including personal opinions not acted upon when these opinions were given—as they very often are given—in the text of a document (e.g. in Ambassador's reports, or in suggestions submitted for their comment). I did, however, decide upon a limitation with regard to the publication of minutes. Here I acted on the principle that I was concerned primarily with the execution of policy—what was done, or attempted—and not with the domestic processes of the formulation of policy. It is not the case—as Professor Read suggests—that I have excluded "all material likely to illuminate the formation of policy"; indeed it astonishes me that Professor Read could make a statement so plainly contradicted by document after document. It is, however, impossible to include all such material. For example, in Great Britain it is impossible, for constitutional reasons, to print the records of Cabinet discussions. The inclusion of Foreign Office comments on incoming documents, without the other "high-level" material, would be misleading—even if it were practicable. The impression given in other collections of documents, where some minutes have been included, confirms my judgment. From the historian's point of view the final and "firm" record of policy with regard to an incoming paper is the outgoing telegram or despatch. I would not trouble to mention the question of space if Professor Read had not charged me with inconsistency in this matter. It is true that I have included in the volume under review a number of papers already printed in *Foreign Relations of the United States*. This question of duplication was an even more serious problem in the First Series of the Collection. I am sure that our editorial decision has been right from the point of view of British readers; as the Collection progresses I believe Professor Read will agree that the decision is justified, but this does not affect the facts (i) that we have cut out large masses of material accessible in Blue Books, etc. which, for completeness, we should like to have been able to include; (ii) that the inclusion of Foreign Office minutes would have doubled the size of the work—large as it is likely to be. (We have not kept rigidly to our rule, e.g. we have occasionally put in a minute when it seemed necessary for the elucidation of an act of policy.)

I would add three general considerations:

(1) I cannot speak for the editors of the *Foreign Relations of the United States,* but I feel fairly sure that they would agree with me in saying that our respective troubles and perplexities as editors have had nothing to do with all this supposed "delicacy" and "discrimination"—hiding matters likely to give offence, putting the best face on things, and so on, which worry Professor Read. Historical research is historical research, and I have been working as a historian dealing with historical materials. As far as I am concerned, I have gone about the work just as though I were making a collection of documents of the age of Walpole or Castlereagh. My real anxieties have never been—if I may mix metaphors—about letting live skeletons out of cupboards. I have been faced with an immense *bloc* of documents dealing with very complicated subjects. I could not print every detail and *nuance:* otherwise I should have filled countless volumes. I found no difficulty about recognising documents of first importance. They settle themselves, but there is an immense *penumbra,* as it were, in which the responsibility for careful and accurate selection weighs heavily on the editor. Furthermore, owing to the ramifications of the subject-matter, it is never possible—even with a good filing system and trained "searchers" behind one—to feel absolutely sure that, embedded in some quite different paper—there may not be something which has

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escaped one's notice. The search for papers that *may* exist, and the choice between paper A and paper B—here is the work which takes time and is often a load on one's mind.

(2) Professor Read asks what is the purpose of the Collection. I can tell him very shortly why I was asked to undertake the work, and why I thought it worth doing. It is of the highest importance that there should be an accurately informed opinion on international relations; the first requirement for such an opinion is a knowledge of what happened in the recent past. A great deal of contemporary writing on recent history suffers badly from the fact that it is based on inaccurate and insufficient information about the actual course of policy. The surest way of correcting these elementary errors (which are not always corrected in memoirs and biographies) is by publications such as the volume under review. My own knowledge of recent international relations has been very greatly deepened and clarified by the study of the documents in *Foreign Relations of the United States,* and the main reason why I am editing the British material is that I regard its publication as likely to be of similar service to students and to have a similar effect in raising the low factual standards of books—learned and popular—on international relations. I have taken care never to make exaggerated claims for the British publication, but I venture to believe that the scholars—and the "general readers"—who use it will find it of much greater value than it appears to hold for Professor Read.

(3) Finally I might offer Professor Read a possible source of reassurance. If he still has doubts about the sub-conscious or unconscious bias of the editors, he might remember one thing which at all events must be present in their conscious minds. They know that ultimately the whole of the material in official archives will be open to inspection; it is unlikely that—with this knowledge—they will be foolish enough to spend time and labour in undermining their own posthumous reputation by not telling the facts which they claim to tell.

Worcester College, Oxford E. L. Woodward

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I refer to the letters of Dr. Spaulding and of Professor Woodward, printed above, which refer in turn to my note on "Recent United States and British Government Publication" in the January number of the *American Historical Review.*

Obviously I must amend some of my statements in that note in the light of Dr. Spaulding's observations. I confess that the press release in which the names of the editors of *United States Foreign Relations, 1929–30* were announced, escaped my notice. It would perhaps avoid misunderstandings of that sort hereafter if these names were printed in the books themselves. In this particular, I prefer the British to the American procedure. Professor Woodward never leaves us in any uncertainty as to where the editorial responsibility lies.

All students must rejoice that the State Department files are open to the end of 1932, though the conditions attached to their use, particularly those of the years following 1922, are such that we can hardly regard the door as wide open. I imagine that an accredited scholar would have no difficulty in comparing the texts of the documents on the London Naval Conference as published with the originals. His real difficulties would begin if he undertook to satisfy himself that the letters published represented all that was important in the files from which they were drawn, or that the files used themselves contained all the relevant material. These

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obstacles are perhaps unavoidable, but they suggest that checking by competent scholars is not so easy a matter as Dr. Spaulding's final sentence might lead one to believe.

In any case, I am glad that Dr. Spaulding has called attention to the quite extraordinary liberality of the State Department in such matters. Certainly no foreign office in the world has done so much as our own in publishing documentary material and in admitting scholars to its files. I endorse heartily, by the way, Dr. Spaulding's high praise of the editorial work in the *Foreign Relations* volumes under consideration.

Professor Woodward has evidently misunderstood me. I have not the least doubt about his integrity of purpose or about the great value of what he has published and will publish. It marks the beginning of what we hope will develop into some British equivalent of the *United States Foreign Relations* series. So far he has been advancing in an area in which, presumably, there are few or no "hot bricks." Perhaps, when he enters areas in which "hot bricks" abound, he will find the going less easy. For my own part, if I were faced with his problems I should find it increasingly difficult to pursue a course of complete detachment, particularly if I could publish anything I chose. There are other matters at stake besides scholarly objectivity. There is international good-will. As one deeply interested in promoting Anglo-American solidarity, I can imagine much in the dispatches of the last twenty years that had better be passed over. Very likely, if I passed them over, I would quiet my academic conscience by deciding that they were of no importance. But Professor Woodward is doubtless of sterner stuff.

Anyway, I am not altogether sorry that my observations have provoked him to describe his problems and his ways of dealing with them at some length. Certainly I wish him Godspeed.

University of Pennsylvania CONYERS READ

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Since I was allowed to comment when Mr. Dorfman's able paper "The Jackson Wage-Earner Thesis" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1949) was presented at the American Historical Association annual meeting of 1946, I hope you will permit me to repeat the substance of my observations to the larger audience of the *Review*.

Mr. Dorfman, as I understand him, makes two main contentions about *The Age of Jackson:* that it reads into the Jackson period "the later conception of a class conflict between great capitalists on the one side, and a mass of propertyless wage-earners on the other"; and that it seeks to show a "significant connection" between Jacksonian and later American radicalism in the realm of "economic policy."

Both these points, I believe, do demonstrable injustice to *The Age of Jackson*. That work certainly has its faults; but I do not think they are precisely the ones claimed by Mr. Dorfman. Mr. Dorfman, for example, suggests in his critique that the word "anti-capitalist," as used in *The Age of Jackson,* means "against the capitalist system" and thus implies great social cleavages which he is able to demonstrate did not exist. But the word is consistently used in *The Age of Jackson* as meaning "against the capitalists in their attempts to control the government"; indeed, the last chapter of the work is devoted specifically to this point. *The Age of Jackson* sharply distinguishes the Jacksonians, for example, from the Utopian socialists who were against the system in the anti-capitalist sense which Mr. Dorfman would have me attribute to all Jacksonians. *The Age of Jackson* does not argue that there was "a class conflict between great capitalists on the one side, and

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a mass of propertyless wage-earners on the other." It does, however, argue that there was a very real struggle of non-business groups against business domination of the government.

As for the relationship between the Jackson period and later reform movements, *The Age of Jackson* surely claims no more than a political and psychological resemblance. In both the Jackson period and the New Deal, for example, strong liberal leadership mobilized the other sections of society against domination by the business community. I cannot imagine anyone foolish enough to argue resemblances in the realm of economic policy, and certainly *The Age of Jackson* does not do so. Is one to understand that Mr. Dorfman would dispute the political resemblances?

Most of the facts in Mr. Dorfman's piece are valid. Of course, many businessmen were pro-Jackson, as many businessmen were pro-Roosevelt; of course, many supporters of the working classes in Jackson's day were not themselves workingmen, any more than they are today; of course, the working classes were a much smaller part of the anti-business coalition than they were during the New Deal. But none of these facts, it seems to me, affects the main theses of *The Age of Jackson*—that "more can be understood about Jacksonian democracy if it is regarded as a problem not of sections but of classes" (p. 263) and that "liberalism in America has been ordinarily the movement on the part of the other sections of society to restrain the power of the business community" (p. 505).

I must confess that Mr. Dorfman's use of specific evidence is sometimes discouraging. He invokes the figure of Langton Byllesby, for example, as if he were a man crucial to the argument of *The Age of Jackson*. Yet *The Age of Jackson,* a work of 600 pages, has 16 lines for Byllesby—less than half as much space as Mr. Dorfman gives to Byllesby in a ten-page article. Mr. Dorfman says that *The Age of Jackson* calls William Foster a "labor leader." It is true that the index, which was compiled while I was otherwise engaged in the European Theater of Operations, calls Foster a labor leader; but the text, which a fair-minded critic might regard as a superior authority, calls Foster "a Boston merchant and intellectual, active in the free-trade movement" (p. 149).

I will spare readers similar further detail on Mr. Dorfman's use of evidence. But I must, in what space remains, dissent from his statement that "Jackson, no more than Jefferson, thought of himself as the champion especially of the wage earner." Jefferson thought of himself as anything but the champion of the wage earner; he regarded the rise of the propertyless worker as a source of danger to the commonwealth. Jackson took over so much of Jeffersonianism that it becomes especially notable that he sloughed off Jefferson's dislike of the industrial worker.

Mr. Dorfman is quite properly in revolt against those who would see in American economic history a succession of basic class conflicts. Almost all Americans have been committed to the capitalist ideal and have simply maneuvered for larger shares within the capitalist framework. This fact is almost as true today as it was a century ago; and nothing in *The Age of Jackson* implies otherwise. But this fact does not mean that the contests between the business community and the rest of society have been mock battles; these contests have been savagely and seriously fought, and they constitute one of the great themes in our political history.

Harvard University ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

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